VOTES FOR WOMEN

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VOL. V. (New Series), No. 211.

FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1912.

Price Id Weekly (Post Free,)





The Suffrage Tree has had a good shake at the hands of the militants, and the rotten fruit has fallen off.

(Suggested by a speech made at the London Opera House last Friday.)

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

After we go to Press the leaders and Mr. Pethick Lawrence will appear again before the magistrate at Bow Street. We give in the following pages a full report of last Thursday's proceedings.

THE OUTLOOK.

The second reading of the Conciliation Bill, set down for to-day (Friday), has been postponed till next Thursday in order to allow an additional day for the consideration of the Minimum Wage Bill. The attitude of the Women's Social and Political Union towards the Bill is given in our leading article. It suffices here to say that the result of the second reading division, had it been taken to-day, would not have affected the Union's demand for a Government measure giving equal voting rights to women. The Women's Social and Political Union has always maintained the inability of Private Members to get an unofficial measure for Woman Suffrage placed upon the Statute Book; and the statement of the Leader of the Opposition, that "The House of Commons has nothing to do with either the promoters or the opponents" of the Conciliation Bill, exposes afresh the weakness of the position taken by those who advise women to leave their question to the House of Commons. The Union will continue to press for a Government measure.

The "Daily News" and an Anti-Covernment Policy.

The Anti-Government election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union has not hitherto found favour with the Daily News. But we may now expect a change of tone on the part of that journal where opposition to the Government is concerned. For we find it recommending to Members of Parliament a precisely similar policy, and advising that this policy be carried into effect on the floor of the House of Commons. Complaining of the Government's Naval Estimates, the Daily News, in a leading article, urges the House of Commons to oppose the Government on this issue, and says:—

"It is no use members making speeches which they do not back with their votes, for no Government will check this insane expenditure on armaments until the alternative is dismissal."

14 Liberal M.P.'s must oppose the Government to secure their object, so must the Suffragettes. In fact,

it might be claimed that the Daily News is paying the W.S.P.U. the compliment of imitation. This endorsement by the Daily News of the W.S.P.U.'s contention that to obtain reform it is necessary to drive the Government to choose between concession and dismissal, is valuable and interesting.

Tapping the Telephone.

In our last issue we referred to the reported "tapping" of the telephone in connection with the offices of the Union. We have been asked for our authority, and we give the following quotation from the Standard of March 7:—

At one time Scotland Yard was on a hot scent. The information came to them that Miss Pankhurst was in the house of a friend, and was actually keeping in touch with her office by telephone! Would she dare? For a short time the telephone was "tapped" by the sleuths in plain clothes; then their consciences were satisfied that the clue must be relegated to the place where all wrong clues rest.

That is the journalistic way of saying that the police tapped a private telephone, though they failed to discover anything. Either this was done or it was not done. If it was not done, the authorities of the Home Office, Scotland Yard, and the Post Office ought at once, in the interests of public honour, to have repudiated the charge.

The Charge of Treachery.

But if the thing was done, and if the charge is true, it is one of the most serious offences against British liberties committed by the official servants of this country for many years. In 1844 it was proved that the letters of Mazzini, the great Italian patriot and conspirator, had been opened in a London post-office. A storm of just indignation passed over the country. Macaulay thundered in Parliament against this act of public treachery. Carlyle

wrote a memorable letter to the Times; in which he

It is a question vital to us that letters in an English post-office be, as we all fancied they were, respected as things sacred; that opening of men's letters, a practice near of kin to picking men's pockets, and to other still viler and far more fatal forms of scoundrelism, be not resorted to except in cases of the very last extremity.

To tap a telephone is worse even than opening letters; it is still more like picking men's pockets and still viler forms of scoundrelism. We demand either a categorical and straightforward denial, accompanied by proofs that the charge is false; or else a complete public enquiry and the punishment of the offenders. If English people are going to sit quiet while charges like these are made, this so-called Liberal Government will fileh away our hard-won liberties bit by bit, until we are reduced to the political espionage and insecurity from which even Russians and Turks are now trying to set themselves free.

Contempt of Court.

We wish again this week to draw attention to the leading article in the Times of March 6. The article mentioned by name the leaders of the Union who had just been arrested, and referring to them in a manner which no one could mistake, it added :-

A sentence of penal servitude on the instigators of these criminal acts, as distinguished from their dupes, would commend itself, we believe, to the public sense of justice. As we noticed last week, not only do those words assume the guilt of untried prisoners, but they attempt to dictate to the judge the kind of sentence he should pass.

If there is any meaning in words, this is contempt of Court in its most flagrant form; and if our leading newspaper can commit such an offence with impunity, one of the oldest and strongest safeguards of justice in this country will have been swept away. In that event, we can imagine nothing that any newspaper might not say to prejudice an untried case, and still escape without penalty, quoting the language of the Times as precedent.

Useless Coercion.

The futility of repression without redress was admirably stated by the two Liberal Members of Parliament who spoke at the protest meeting in the London Opera House organised by several of the Constitutional Societies for Woman Suffrage. Said Sir Alfred Mond, M.P., "Coercion never has been, nor can be a remedy for injustice. Those who break the law naturally make themselves amenable to its penalties. But the mere punishment of law-breaking is no answer to the just claim made on behalf of the millions of women in the country." Mr. McCurdy, M.P., argued that if rioting and arson did not deter the reformers from doing their duty with regard to the enfranchisement of men in 1832, the breaking of a few windows ought not to deter the reformers of the present day from doing their duty by the enfranchisement of women.

"A Friend Indeed!"

A more unstatesmanlike letter than that addressed to the Times by Mr. Sydney Buxton could not be imagined. The burden of the letter is that Mr. Buxton intends to do his part towards preventing women's enfranchisement until such time as the militant Suffragists " are no longer in the ascendant," his excuse being that the passage even of the Conciliation Bill " would undoubtedly be claimed by the militants and their admirers to be a justification for, and an endorsement by the House of Commons of, their methods and action." If Mr. Buxton is so very anxious that Woman Suffrage shall not appear to be the product of militancy, why did he not induce the Government to which he belongs to carry the Conciliation Bill in 1910 or in 1911, when absolutely peaceful conditions prevailed? We are not aware that he made any very strenuous effort in that direction. Is it too much to expect Mr. Buxton to display the qualities of a Peel, a Wellington, or a Gladstone, statesmen who saw the unwisdom of carrying too far their resistance to popular demands? We do not find, however, that Mr. Buxton is opposed to the passage of a Minimum Wage Bill, though the passage of that measure will be hailed by the miners as a triumph for militancy. Is he then so sure that to deny women the Vote when they ask for it peaceably, and again to deny it when they ask for it militantly, is a wise course to pursue? We quote elsewhere Lord Willoughby de Broke's answer to Mr. Buxton in the Times of Wednesday.

How Militants Have Been Made.

It is not only the inflammatory speeches of Cabinet Ministers that rouse a militant spirit in women. The ordinary facts of daily life have this effect. A woman writes to the Standard to say-

When I consider that a man, for assaulting a little girl of seven years old for a period of six months, was sent to prison for four months, and that Miss Charlotte Marsh, for breaking a window, has been sent to prison for six months, I am driven to the conclusion that, whatever motives are in the minds of the magistrates, justice is conspicuous by its absence. The necessity for altering the laws in such a way as to give protection to young girls and children is at the heart of the militant movement. I am one of the many women who have hitherto dissociated themselves from the militant methods, and who are now joining the militant society.

Those who are responsible for the government of the

Those who are responsible for the government of the

country should ponder carefully a declaration such as this.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

Last Saturday the Manchester Guardian accused us of inaccuracy in our note upon Mrs. Pankhurst's treatment in Holloway. We do not know from what sources the Manchester Guardian obtained its information. Ours came from people who were in close touch with Mrs. Pankhurst herself, and, unhappily, it was entirely accurate. The facts are these: in order to cut off all communication with the other prisoners after Sunday, the 10th, Mrs. Pankhurst was removed from a fairly good cell to a wretched, damp, and obscure cell, overshadowed by a mound of earth. The temperature was only 56 degrees, and she was left for a long time without sufficient means of warmth, though it was known she was suffering from cold. In that damp, cold cell she remained for two or three days, and was then removed into a better. But not, as the Manchester Guardian says, "in order that she might have facilities to prepare her defence." On the contrary, she petitioned in vain for such facilities, and up to last Saturday afternoon she had received no answer to her petition, and no assistance of any kind beyond a few back numbers of Votes for Women. She asked to be put on remand, and to be allowed to serve the rest of her sentence later, and this was the reply. Since then she has been allowed to see her secretary, though only in the presence of a wardress and a member of the prison clerical staff. Other facilities are being gradually granted her, but it is only by continual insistence that she is winning some measure of justice.

Property or Person?

The shameful assaults upon Suffragist women, and especially upon members of the W.S.P.U., continue, and the authorities do nothing seriously to check them. Men who beat women or cover them with filth are never arrested, and the Anti-Suffragists and hooligans of our cities are confirmed in their belief that so long as a woman is a Suffragette she is fair game for any brutality and persecution. At Glasgow a mob of 200 men and boys has broken up the W.S.P.U. shop, flinging iron bolts and weights through the windows, and only narrowly missing a charwoman who was working on the premises. No arrests were made. For years past Suffragettes have been exposed to almost every kind of outrage at the hands of their opponents, and there is hardly an arrest on record. But directly they touch other people's property, what a nest of rattlesnakes is roused!

The Suffragist Prisoners.

One hundred and thirty-one women, committed for trial in connection with the recent militant outbreak, have been again remanded. Of these about half are in Holloway Gaol; the rest are out on bail. They will come up for trial at Newington Sessions next Tuesday, March 26, at 10.30 a.m., when it is hoped that the charges against them may be more speedily dealt with than has hitherto been the case. Both Courts will sit for the purpose, and the presiding Justices will be Mr. Lawrie and Mr. Wallace. Meanwhile, one hundred and twenty-nine convicted Suffragist prisoners are serving terms of imprisonment ranging from one to six months, and of these the women given heavy sentences have been sent to Aylesbury Prison. The majority of them, seventy-six in fact, have been sentenced to hard labour, and are therefore not eligible for the privileges granted under Mr. Winston Churchill's Rules, though the Home Secretary could admittedly remit the hard labour and allow the Rules to apply. This he has not done, nor do we gather from his reply to Mr. Lanshury in the House that he means to take any steps with regard to a better apportionment of the sentences which have been given to first and second offenders indiscriminately.

The Bonour of Liberalism.

The honour of Liberalism is always at stake where the treatment of political offenders is concerned; and we confess we find it difficult to understand or to justify the Home Secretary's inaction in the matter of the treatment of women political offenders. Mr. McKenna has admitted further that of the forty-two prisoners entitled to privileges, some have forfeited them by misconduct—the misconduct was a mutiny occasioned by the denial of political recognition; and at least one, if not more, of the mutineers, after two or three days' close confinement, received a further sentence of seven days' solitary confinement from the visiting magistrates. We maintain that to condemn a human being of any kind, for any offence, to more than a week's close confinement in a small prison cell, seeing no one butthe officials, going out neither for exercise nor to chapel, is treatment that would not in this humane age be considered fit for a dog. That it is considered suitable for high-minded women, imprisoned for their principles, and by a Liberal Government, is evidence either of extreme and abnormal panic, or of a grievous falling-off in Liberal standards since the days of Mr. Gladstone's protest against the treatment of Italian political prisoners at Naples, or of Mr. John Bright's petition to the House of Commons in

1867 on behalf of the Fenians then in gaol. Are not British women of as much value as Italian rebels and Fenians?

Sympathy at Home and Abroad.

While the Government at home adopts coercive measures towards Women Suffragists, messages of encouragement and admiration pour into the offices at Clement's Inn. "I am with the W.S.P.U. heart and soul," writes an official of the Massachusetts Woman's Suffrage Association. "We send you sympathy from Keepsie mass meeting," cables the Chairman, Laura Wylie. Another cable to Mrs. Pankhurst runs thus: "The Central Women's Christian Temperance Union, Chicago, passed resolution at annual meeting to cable you admiration." "Sympathy and God speed, (Signed) Helen Hood, Chairman"; and "Courage, pray with you for victory, public meeting, Lancaster, Pennsylvania"—these are valued expressions of the feeling aroused across the water by the imprisonment of women fighting for freedom in the old country. And letters of encouragement from friends at home would fill pages!

"Where Can the Wanderer Be?"

It is very distressing, but Miss Christabel Pankhurst has given the detectives another week of painful activity. Several times they have run hot-foot upon the trail. One day she was eighted at Weybridge, and the next she was flying from Oatlands Chase to Windsor, apparently intending a secret call on the Queen. That intention was frustrated; but a few hours afterwards she was walking on the boulevards in Paris. Early next morning she purchased some violets at Ludlow-a characteristic action that at once betrayed her-and she was actually wearing them when seen at lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill near Worthing. As Henfield is also in Sussex, it was natural she should call on Miss Elizabeth Robins there; but while the police were searching the house, they received positive information that she was in Belfast, conspiring with Sir Edward Carson and Lord Londonderry to rouse the women of Ulster. Hardly had they touched the Irish shore when she was discovered in the secret passage to an old house near Wimbledon, perhaps the most natural place of refuge. So panting time toiled after her in vain, and always she remained not lost, but gone before they found her. Deeply as we admire the Vanishing Lady, we cannot help thinking her a little hard on gentlemen of quiet habits and regular routine. Again the papers tell us that pursuit has failed owing to "the fanatical loyalty of her friends." Three cheers for fanatical loyalty!



THE CONSPIRACY CHARGE.

Case for the Prosecution Opened.—Remanded to March 21—Bail Refused.

As stated in last week's Votes FOR Women, the leaders of the Union and Mr. Pethick Lawrence appeared before the magistrate at Bow Street on Thursday morning, March 14. The case for the prosecution occupied the greater part of the day, Mr. Bodkin's speech alone lasting for about an hour and three-quarters. The charges were brought under the Malicious

Damage to Property Act.
Mr. Bodkin and Mr. Leycester appeared for the prosecution. Sir Charles Mathews Director of Public Prosecutions) occupied a seat on the bench with Mr. Guy Stephenson (Assistant Director), and among those present in court were Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who occupied a seat at the back of the counsel, Lady Constance Lytton, Mrs. Despard, and Miss Beatrice

Harraden. Mr. Bodkin, in stating the case for the

Prosecution, said: -

I appear with my learned friend, Mr. Leyeester, for the presecution in this case, and since last week we have had an opportunity of going sufficiently through, in a tunity of going sufficiently through, in a very large number of cases, papers which were taken by the police at the offices of the Women's Social and Political Union, to enable me to put before you the evidence to a large extent which will be adduced in support of these charges, and I think, Sir, that to-day, not only for the purpose of assisting you in getting as comprehensive a view of the case as possible, and also assisting the defendants in meeting the evidence which will be called, I had better occupy your time I am afraid. Sir, someoccupy your time I am afraid, Sir, somewhat at length in opening the whole of the evidence which at present I propose to put before you.

The Charges.

Now, Sir, last week I foreshadowed shortly what the charges against the defendants would be, and on further consideration, in light of the new material, the charges thus foreshadowed are those which will be made against them for conspiracy extending from last November spiracy extending from last November, and of committing between themselves and with numbers of others, members of the same Union, offences against section 51 of the Act of 1861. Secondly, the offence of inciting a number of people to commit offences against that statute; both offences which could be dealt with summarily; for although they are called summary offences, they are none the less misdemeanours as being breaches of an Act of Parliament, tryable summarily. The only difference between them in law and offences which are tried before a judge and jury is that there is a different form into which

that there is a different form into which they come.

Those two offences, inciting to commit offences which could be dealt with summarily, and also offences which must be dealt with upon indictment; those two charges will be charges at common law, common law conspiracies contravening the statute, conspiracy to incite persons to contravene the statute, conspiracy to com-mit offences either summary or indictable; and the second class of charge will be that of inciting to commit the said offences. And of morting to commit the said offences. And also there will be charges against the defendants by reason of section 56 of the same statute, in that the evidence will show that they counselled and procured the commission of the misdemeanours which that statute creates in regard to damage to property, which by reason of section 56 render them amenable to the law as principal offenders.

law as principal offenders. Now, Sir, we shall show that from ovember right up to at least March 5 there has been one continuous conspiracy of the nature indicated; one continuous incitement and instigation to acts of vioincitement and instigation to acts of vio-lence and damage to property, and whilst both in regard to the outrage of Novem-ber 21 and those of March 1 and 4 the actual perpetrators either have been or are about to be dealt with, the evidence we shall adduce will show that the defendants before you, each in his or her own particular sphere of action and duty in regard to this Union, if I may use that expression, took part in the continuous instigation and conspiracy and as the chief ring-leaders and inciters of what I shall show to you to be a dangerous and organised attack upon property. I think it well, Sir, just to remind you, because they will be observations relevant to the evidence which will be adduced, of one or two matters with regard to the offence of conspiracy. First of all, the acts of all the members of the conspiracy in furtherance of the common unlawful design become the acts of all, and statements, writings, and speeches are acts; and you will have before you writings, statements and speeches made by each and all of the four defendants before you.

The Essence of Conspiracy.

The essence of conspiracy is the unlawful agreement and combination to do what is illegal, and as a learned judge once said in my hearing, it is not once in a thousand times that to prove that conspiracy you have the evidence of an eye-witness or an car-witness: it is almost invariably proved, in this combination, by proving the number of acts done by the parties charged in furtherance of the unlawful objects of the conspiracy, together with, in many cases, evidence of meetings and association together of the persons charged and alleged to be forming the members of the conspiracy. And so here, to a large extent, as a matter of inference which is a perfectly right and proper method of proof, as a matter of inference, from the papers and documents found, the acts, speeches and writings of the persons accused, the prosecution submits that there is the existence (to be substantiated by the evidence we shall call) of a conspiracy having the unshall call) of a conspiracy having the un-lawful objects I have mentioned.

Another observation one might make is

Another observation one might make is this: That persons at meetings not in the capacity of mere spectators, the presence at meetings of persons who answer invitations to attend those meetings sent out by the officials of this Union, who are themselves members of the Union or connected closely with the Union, are offences against these parameters who are present at each those persons who are present at such those persons who are present at such meetings where speeches are made, even although they themselves utter no word on the particular occasion, if no protest or objection, or nothing is said or done by those persons to show that they are not in harmony with the views that are so expressed. And so it will be that at many meetings to which I shall have to draw your attention, one or other of the defendants will be shown to have been present, when speedless. shown to have been present when speeches were made either by themselves—as to that, of course, there is no doubt—but also by others not now charged before you, to which speeches they have uttered no word of protest, but have sat quite quiet, listened and applauded, and thereby shown their acquiescence in the views that were being expressed.

A Legal Authority.

And one might just refer as legal authority for that proposition to what was said by the late Lord Brampton in a case in which the question arose of the position of people present at an occasion on which some-thing unlawful was being done or discussed: "Encouragement does not of necessity amount to aiding and abetting. It may be intentional or unintentional, and a man may unwittingly encourage by his presence, or he may encourage intentionally by expressions or words intended to sig-nify approval. In the latter case he aids and abets; in the former he does not. It is no criminal offence to stand by a mere passive spectator of a crime, even of a murder, but non-interference to prevent a murder, but non-interference to prevent a crime, the fact that a person was intentionally present witnessing the crime and offering no opposition to it while having the power to do so might under some sircumstances offer cogent evidence which a jury might be justified in considering as encouragement, and so aiding and abetting. It would be a matter for the jury to arrange, so that if any number of persons took part, the mere presence of these persons would provide abundant evidence for the jury of such persons aiding and abetting." The inference to be derived from that statement applies with absolute from that statement applies with absolute correctness to that which I have men-tioned, the presence of those at meetings at which violent speeches are made and who offer no resistance or objection and are persons not present as mere spectators, but persons present as members of the Union, some members of which speak and others do not; and here you will find, as I said, that at numerous meetings from October of last year, one or more of those now charged were present, and either speaking themselves or taking part not as mere spectators at meetings paid for by the Union, and from a document that was found a sum of no less than £3,999 was vear (to be dealt with in a document that you will have before you, sir), for the hire of halls and so forth in which these meetings took place. And the sole object of the meetings, the invitations for which emanated from the Union, the sole object was to further the determination which those at the head of this movement had, that there should be "protests," as they called them, "more and more emphatic," as the expression was, in order to bring about the desired change in the law in regard to women's franchi

This Highly Developed Organisation."

But, of course, the presence at meetings at which violent speeches are made is only one branch of the proof that will be put before you. This is an organisation, this Women's Social and Political Union, extensive and highly developed in its organisation—about that there can be no doubt when you come to look at the documents and books and papers which will be produced before you. And there is a great deal, in order to further the objects of the Union, which it is necessary to do out of the public eye. In the organisation of these meetings, the invitations to people from long distances hundreds of miles away to long distances hundreds of miles away to come up to town for a particular purpose, to attend a particular demonstration in the street, or for other purposes; in dealing with correspondence from members of the Union, the scheduling and listing of those who have been invited, or have themselves voluntarily offered to take part in what is called militant tactics, there is a great deal of work to be done in the office, none the less, in furtherance of the objects of the conspiracy, because it is not done in the public eye or in the public streets; and in the office work which for those purposes has to be carried on, I shall presently show you some papers which show who are the persons responsible for that work. Others, who, perhaps from their mental or physical capacities, are more appropriately selected for outdoor work, are also designated in some of the documents that will be put before you—two classes of those who were at the head of this organisation, and there is no distinction in law between those two classes if they are acting each in their own particular way in furtherance of an unlawful design and object.

Now, sir, there is another word that I wish to say before I come to deal with the facts and the contents of the documents that I have seen, and it is this: To become a principal offender, a misdemeanant by counselling and procuring the commission of misdemeanours, it is not necessary in my submission that that counselling and producing need be either to a particular individual face to face or to commit a particular specified act of damage. A speech to an assembly to go to and break windows in Whitehall is an incitement and a counselling and procuring in my submission to every person present at that meeting who chooses to be influenced by that advice. And if a person in that audience does act on that advice, given generally to the whole of the audience, it is in law a counselling and procuring of that person; if that person goes and commits damage in Whitehall, a counselling and procuring of that person to commit the particular act of damage which that person does And of damage which that person does. And so all present at a meeting at which such advice is given become participators in the advice, and in such a sense counsellors and procurers of the unlawful acts which result from the advice being given.

Lord Coleridge.

That principle is made perfectly clear in a judgment of the late Lord Coleridge in Most's case, which you would recollect, sir. One of the paragraphs in respect of which that indictment of Johana Most was preferred runs: - "Your bold deed, which, we repeat, has our full sympathy, inspires revolutionaries with fresh courage." This is what the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge

says:—
"An endeavour to persuade or an enencouragement is none the less an endeavour to persuade or an encouragement because the person who so encourages or so endeavours to persuade does not in a particular act of encouragement or persuasion personally address the one or more persons whom the address which contains the encouragement or the endeavour to persuade incites. The argument has been well put that an orator who makes a speech to two thousand people does not address it to any one individual amongst that number. He is endeavouring to persuade the whole number or a large part of that number and if a particular person deavour to persuade or an encouragement of that number, and if a particular person is persuaded or listens to it and is en-couraged to commit an act of violence, it is plain that the words of this statute apply, because, according to a well-known principle of law, the person who addresses these words to a number of persons must be taken to address them to the persons must be taken to address them to the persons whom he knows will understand them in a particular way—and do act upon them." And the late Judge Coleridge says: "Just so it is that to publish to the whole world or to declars to the whole whole world or to declare to the whole world that the individual rejoices in regicide"—that, you will remember, was the subject of the indictment against Johann Moss—"and urge others to follow the example, and trust that the time is not far distant when once a month kings may fall, is an encouragement to any person, other than themselves, to adopt it,

person, other than themselves, to adopt it, and comes within the meaning of the Act." And there are other passages from other learned judges to the same effect.

Now incitement may be direct or indirect, and it is submitted for your consideration here that one of the most insidious, forms of incitement is to lavish unstinted praise upon those who previously have committed breaches of the law, and who are members of this same Union, when that unstinted praise is offered by other are members of this same Union, when that unstinted praise is offered by other members of the Union present at a meeting of the Union called for the purpose of the furtherance of their designs. And so you will find in speech after speech that what the law as interpreted by the ordinary courts of the country, the law that has been laid down in a particular way when particular people have broken it, and when convictions have taken place for acts a similar character to those in November when convictions have taken place for acts of a similar character to those in November and in March; you will find, as I say, that on numerous occasions these unlawful acts are held up as acts which ought to be praised and which are put forward as examples to others. And I submit that it is the most instdicus, as it is the most effective form when you have got an audience tive, form, when you have got an audience of a great number of persons banded together with these particular views, members of the Union, excitable people, the most effective form of incitement and

far more effective than to say: "Go and do likewise"; and you will have numerous instances in the speeches which I shall bring to your attention, of that kind of thing used by some of those who are now before you. Now another fact of importance is to see when you are dealing with speeches made in public how those who hear them take them, and therefore the result, the details of which I need not give, of a determination to adopt militant tactics, to speechify about militant tactics in the hearing of members of this Union tactics, to speechify about militant tactics in the hearing of members of this Union has been understood by those to whom those speeches were addressed and acted upon, with the result that over a couple of hundred women were arrested in November, and I suppose much about the same number as this last March. That shows how they understood it, that shows how they understood it, that shows how this policy of praising the misdeeds of others is regarded by people who belong to this association. this association.

The W.S.P.U. Notepaper.

The W.S.P.U. Notepaper.

Now, sir, this association was founded, so far as my information goes, about six or seven years ago—I don't pretend to be exactly accurate in that—and the members of it who are prominent members are shown on the notepaper which is adopted by the head office: 4, Clement's Inn. Mrs. Pankhurst, Founder and Hon. Sec.; Mrs. Tuke, Joint Hon. Sec.; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Treasurer; Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Organising Secretary. And then there followed the name of a Mrs. Elmy, Miss Kenney, Miss Neal, and Miss Robins, and I find that "all the communications, unless marked private, will be opened by one of the hon. secretaries," cations, unless marked private, will be opened by one of the hon. secretaries," that is, either Mrs. Pankhurst or Mrs. Tuke. There will be a number of letters from members of this Union in evidence before you which clearly show that they passed through the hands of either Mrs. Pankhurst or Mrs. Tuke in their capacity as Hon. Secretaries of this Association.

Mr. Pathick Lawrence's pages does not

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's name does not appear on the notepaper of the Union, but at 4, Clement's Inn it is quite clear from the extracts from the Rate-Book that not only was the Union the occupier of numerous rooms at that number, but that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Pethick Lawrence were assigned particular offices in the same group of offices in which that search eight days ago was made by the police; and Mr. Pethick Lawrence usually is there. While not on the Committee of the Union so far as the notepaper is concerned, he has his rooms there, he is rated there, and he goes there—and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence with him—probably every day. He is ordinarily and regularly to be found there, and I believe lives there. I believe part of the building is arranged as a flat for Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The W.S.P.U. Offices.

Now we have, in addition to the personnel of the Union, gathered from the notepaper and from occupiers of the building, gathered from the Rate-Book, from a document found on the premises, a list of departments in this building. We find one department—"Miss Pankhurst"; and then a number of other ladies' names. Mrs. Tuke, Secretary; Treasury, Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Sanders; and at the end, "In financial matters Mrs. Lawrence end, "In financial matters Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Sanders should always be consulted." And as I say, a number of other departments dealing with different branches of this highly organised Union, the central office of which—the heart of which—was in 4, Clement's Inn. "A number of other documents found related to what is called the Hospitality Department. what is called the Hospitality Department. When any great demonstration was being arranged for—it took some time beforenand to arrange for processions ings, protest meetings, demonstrations, whatever the names are, and also the militant meetings of November and March took a long time to arrange—the Hospitality Department came into operation in this way. There would apparently be circulars sent out to active sympatheers, "How many can you put up?" Then circulars sent out to active sympathisers, "How many can you put up?" Then the answers, "We can put up one, two, three, or more." And then there would be circulars sent away to the North of England, Scotland, and even greater distances, telling them that they would have to report themselves to Mrs. So and So or Miss So and So "at such an address when you come up for the great demonstration that we have arranged at such a date, and you will be housed during your visit to London for that period."

and you will be housed during your visit to London for that period."

The Society has its badges; it has its special telegraphic code, and it has its organ, Votes for Women; and to show—I can assure you, sir, not for the purpose of creating any smiles—but to show what was anticipated by the people who were daily in control of the affairs of this office in Clement's Inn, the kind of things they anticipate, here is an extract from the private code:—"Fox:—Are you prepared for arrest? Foxes:—How many are prepared for arrest? Goose:—Don't get arrested. Duck:—Don't get arrested unless success depends upon it." And an example is given below of a telegram indecipherable by any person who has not the key to this code.

to this co "Silk, thistle, pansy, duck, wool, E.Q." And it is translated: "Will you go to protest Asquith's public meeting to-morrow evening, but don't get arrested unless success depends upon it. Wire back to Christabel Pankhurst, Clement's Inn." And we find that it is common knowledge, and there is plenty of evidence amengst documents—very interesting reading they make—we find that public men in the service of His Majesty as Members of the Cabinet are tabulated here under code names. And amongst the documents which were found in these premises will be the list of engagements of these public men and evidence of the attempts to get tickets of admission to such meetings at which they are present, and are believed to be about to speak, for the purpose of harassing and annoying them—numbers of documents to that effect.

"And the Commonest Weeds."

"And the Commonest Weeds."

"And the Commonest Weeds."

And we find that the Cabinet collectively has its telegraphic code-word:
"Trees"; and individual members of the Cabinet are designated by the name sometimes of trees, but, I am also bound to say, the commonest weeds as well. (Laughter.) There is one called "Pansy," another one "Thistle," another one more complimentary—"Roses," and another "Violets," and so forth, showing the system and the development of the organisation; how secret telegrams that are indecipherable, signed by these people, must go out. There must be a reason for all this; these telegrams must go out and the particular meeting at which the particular "tree" or "plant" is going to be present, is going to be interrupted, and the speakers harassed by members of this Union. And so, whilst His Majesty's Ministers have code names, so members of the Union have code names, so members of the Union have code names, so members of the Union have code names "D" for Mrs. Lawrence, "E" for Christabel Pankhurst, "F" for Mrs. Pankhurst, and so on. And the principal places in London—the House of Commons, Whitehall, Queen's Hall, and so forth—they have all got their code name. But I do not find Cannon Row or Bow Street amongst the number. There will be other instances of the code names Street amongst the number. There will be other instances of the code names adopted for the purposes of this Organisa-

The Newspaper, "Votes for Women." Then I mentioned its organ, Votes FOR

WOMEN; that is a weekly paper which is edited by Frederick and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence. Mr. Pethick Lawrence entered into a personal contract with the printer on May 11, 1908, for its printing, and it was printed, down to the last number issued—March 8—by that printer under that contract; and he has been paid his charges for the work he did. It is the organ of the Union, and emanates from 4, Clement's Inn. It is paid for by the Union, who would be at the back of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. He and his wife are the editors of it, and, as the organ of the Union coming from the offices to which all defendants are closely attached, it is evidence and very good evidence of the defendants are closely attached, it is evidence, and very good evidence, of the instigation which it contains and of the lawless advice which is freely offered in practically every number of it.

Now, on November 21 there was a great riot in London. I believe it arose out of a meeting, I think at Caxton Hall, of members of this Universe.

meeting, I think at Caxton Hall, of members of this Union, who were to force their way to the House of Commons, and, arising out of that disgraceful incident, 219 women and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were arrested. Many of them were charged with acts of damage, and either convicted, fined, or sent to prison, or sent for trial to the Sessions. In the offices of this concern is a tabulated list of those dealt with on each day in the London police courts, what they were charged with, where it was the damage was committed, the amount of the damage, and the sentence of either imdamage was committed, the amount of the damage, and the sentence of either imprisonment or fine which was imposed upon them. It is in the offices of the Union, and carefully prepared and recorded, and I find, on looking through it, that the damage done on that night varied from £100 in several cases down to small amounts like a few shillings. The streets were the Strand, Whitehall, and streets in and about Westminster, Victoria Street, and so forth. At the end of this list which was found is a list of false names given by and so forth. At the end of this list which was found is a list of false names given by many of those charged, and correspondingly the true names of those who were charged, and I believe it is common, from documents that were found, for these people to give false names and either false addresses or the independent address of 4, Clement's Inn, in order to conceal, I suppose, from their friends and relatives, one would hope at any rate, that that would be a motive or an excuse for so doing, the fact that they have been arrested and sent to prison. And the leaders of this Movement know that, countenanced it, and have countenanced it in a very remarkable way, as I shall show in a minute or two. For what happens when a great number of these people are arrested for violent acts of disorder? Mr. Pethick Lawrence appears upon the scene almost immediately these people reachgenerally Cannon Row (that is the office on which the greatest strain is put on these occasions) with typed lists in his hand, checking off, according to the lists, the mames of those women who have been arrested and charged, and signing scores and scores of bail bonds, in the books which are kept at the Police Station.

"Not out of Ordinary Philanthropy." was found is a list of false names given by

"Not Out of Ordinary Philanthropy." That is not out of ordinary philan-thropy, it is in pursuance of a plan; and why I say that, is because, found at Clement's Inn and dated some day before November 21—because it is headed "Final Instructions to Members of the Demonstration on November 21, 1911"—that is in view of the demonstration of November 21, I find this: "In the event of arrest you will be taken to Cannon Row or another police-station and charged, when it is advisable to make no statement, as any statement to the police may be used in evidence against you the next day. After an interval, you will be bailed out till the following morning, when you will be ordered to appear at Bow Street or another police-court named on your charge-sheet. Bring with you to the police-court a bag containing night things and a change of clothing, brush and comb, etc. Also do not forget to come provided with food sufficient to keep you going for the day, as the proceedings may be lengthy. You need not worry, as everything has been foreseen."

And so on the arrest of a great number of these women you find Mr.—and I think sometimes Mrs.—Pethick Lawrence on the spot, with lists ready to check off those who have been so dealt with and bail them out. Lists would be necessary if false names were given; hence the list of false names were given; hence the list of false names and true names, in order that no mistake might be made in bailing out some unfortunate woman who was not a member of the Union.

"In Plagrante Delicto."

"In Flagrante Delicto."

"In Flagrante Delicto."

And what does this also mean? It means that although these people are arrested in flagrante delicto and taken straight off to the police station, down comes Mr. Pethick Lawrence, after a very, very short time, with these lists, which must have been prepared before the unlawful act was committed, and in view of it, and in view of the consequences of it. They knew what would be the consequences of those acts which these women went out from headquarters to do. Now that outrage of November 21 was preceded by various speeches. That dees not affect the legal position at all; because, as I have already explained, the speeches of all or any are evidence against all the others, and, in my submission, whether they were present at the meeting or not. Because it is part of the conspiracy—part of the objects of the conspiracy—which was to foment people into a state of excitement, in which they might commit these criminal acts. It is a matter of regreet that Miss. in which they might commit these criminal acts. It is a matter of regret that Miss Christabel Pankhurst is not here to hear

acts. It is a matter of regret that Miss Christabel Pankhurst is not here to hear me read some of the speeches which she has uttered. But I find that, preceding November 21—on October 26—there was a meeting at the Steinway Hall, at which the speakers were Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and others, I daresay. About 350 people were present, and this is what Miss Pankhurst said:—

"People have said, 'Why don't the Suffragettes adopt militancy?' Suffragettes are so confident of the Bill passing that they do not think it necessary yet—at any rate, before Christmas; but if Mr. Lloyd George forces his wrecking amendment, militancy will be again resorted to in very strong measures." At another meeting, on November 9, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton, Mrs. Drummond, and others spoke. "We now say good-bye," says Miss Christabel, "to the Conciliation Bill." (It is not necessary to go into the political history of the interval.) "We demand of the Government, as we have always done, the vote under the same conditions as it is or may be granted to men. On November 21 we intend to send a deputation, this time not only to the Prime Minister, but also

Cablegram from Mrs. Pankhurst.

On November 16, at the Albert Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence opened the meeting by reading a cablegram from Mrs. Pankhurst, "who is in America," as she said: "I share your indignation at the Government's insult to women, and am Government's insult to women, and am ready to renew the fight. Shall return with practical help from America." And then, after reading that announcement from the head of this Association, she goes on to say that the action of the Government in introducing a Manhood Suffrage Bill was an insult to women. "The Government have refused to make women's suffrage a party measure since they have refused to embody it in the Reform Bill. Now, it is between these two stools— Woman Suffrage as a party question, but Woman Suffrage not as a party measure—that the Government intends that women's suffrage shall fall to the ground.

"Women will give proof very shortly that unless they receive that which they demand, a thousand women will march to the House of Commons as a project." demand, a thousand women will march to the House of Commons as a protest." That is November 21. Then another lady—I think it is Miss Christabel again: "If we do not get what we want to-morrow, the militant campaign will go forward with more energy than before. We are going forward; we mean to have the Vote." I am reading from the report that the officer made.

At this juncture a collection was made, the result of which was £4,200, and included £1,000 from Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Then there came November 21, which I have already dealt with.

The Savoy Theatre, November 23.
After November 21 a meeting on the 23rd took place at the Savoy Theatre, and Miss Pankhurst there says they would even

be pleased to hear from the Prime Minister what comments he had to offer on their recent action on the night before last, and on the statement which it was their intention to make. They all felt the deepest gratisude to those magnificent women who had so nobly responded to the call of the W.S.P.U. on Tuesday night. Their beroism was all the greater because of the memory they retained of Black Friday. Their action of last Tuesday also marked a new departure in militancy, which meant more stringency and violence from the police. Mr. Pethick Lawrence said the days of brutality and oppression were over, because in spite of the fresh brutality in flicted by the Government, the women were growing stronger and more determined, so that there was only one thing for the Government to do, and that was to yield. The demonstration of Tuesday was a great victory, because it proved to the world that the members of the deputation were determined, and showed the indomitable spirit of the women who were associated with it. He said that before coming to the meeting he had seen his wife. She gave him a message which she hoped the Suffragettes would interpret as they thought fit. The words were, "Be ready!" Then there is another lady who goes a little more to the point. After arguing about the difference between the ready!" Then there is another lady who goes a little more to the point. After arguing about the difference between the sexes and the heroic action of women, she concluded by saying that it would be the business of shopkeepers, if they had any-regard for their windows, to see that women were no longer denied their rights as citizens. That, so far as my information goes, is the first indication of the scheme of damaging the premises of tradespeople, as far as the Suffragettes, at any rate, are concerned. The meeting was brought to a close by Miss Christabel, who says that she hopes that when such action was again necessary, the call of the Union would be responded to. Placards bearing the following inscriptions were in the hall: the following inscriptions were in the hall: "Deeds, Not Words." "It Shall Appear that Our Cause is Just." "Let Tyrants Fear." What is more practical, £320 was raised at the collectio

Kensington Town Hall Meeting. Then we come to November 30, a meeting at the Kensington Town Hall, at which Mr. Pethick Lawrence made a speech. "We are asked," he said, "why the pro-Mr. Pethick Lawrence made a speech. "We are asked," he said, "why the property of private persons was attacked. It is because it is as much the fault of citizens that women have not got the vote as it is that of a Cabinet Minister, and the only way to bring them to their senses is to touch their pockets. Our experience of a police court is that it is not a place of justice. The word of a policeman is taken before the word of a civilian. The magistrate is simply there to uphold the decision of the police." That is a very good indication, sir, of the spirit that is abroad, and has been for some time past, of the absolute disregard for law and order in this country; and the view of this gentlemen, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, after such an outrage as that which occurred on November 21, when of those who were arrested, charged, and convicted, no defence practically in the vast majority of cases ever was raised in this count. The magistrate is simply there as registrar of the police—that is the view held by a body of people living in this country—they are not obliged to live in this country; we should be very well rid of them—who have their own particular view of how matters should be run in this country.

The Magistrate: And, I may mention, a member of the Bar.

The "Broken Windows" Leaflet.

The "Broken Windows'" Leaflet. Mr. Bodkin: Yes, he is a barrister. (Continuing) Now we come to December 1. Vores for Women, the organ. A leading article by Christabel Pankhurst contains a thing which they attempted later on to re-print as a separate pamphlet, but, all honour to them, the printers refused. (Here his junior said something to ham.) I am partly right and partly wrong. The printers refused to re-print it in March, but I believe it was re-printed in Decembut I believe it was re-printed in Decem ber. They tried to get it re-printed in March, but the printer said, "No, I won't." In this article Miss Pankhurst

Every protest, as it was made, provoked a new outburst of censure. For practical reasons, it is impossible for us to regret this. It is part of the effect of militancy that it shall excite regret and consternation. Our very definite purpose is to create an intolerable situation for the Government, and, if need be, for the public as a whole. The attack—not, indeed, a very serious one—but still an attack on provate property, is the latest subject of censure.

That was November 21, when many hundreds of pounds' worth of damage was

done!

"Government property," say the critics, "you are justified in attacking, but not private property." Militant suffragists would, of course, be glad if an attack on Government property were sufficient to attain their purpose. They would have been yet more glad if the even less militant action of the earlier days had sufficed. But the present policy of the Government proves that these measures are not powerful enough to produce the effect desired. They have produced only a sham concession to our demand. More drastic measures have been proved to be essential to gain the genuine concession that we seek. The injuries suffered by women in their many efforts to reach the House of Communs, and the long terms of imprisonment they have undergone, have not sufficiently embarrassed the Government. The breaking of windows in Government effices has not sufficiently embarrassed them either. The Government, and the public also, are far too calm in face of these things. The sufferings of the militant women they have not felt keenly enough, and the cost of repairing Government windows had fallen upon them too lightly. That is why private property has now been attacked.

That in the organ of the party, which goes out to all the members of it, no doubt

represents and puts in concentrated form the sims and objects of this Society at that time (December 1, 1911), when they had set down the determination to make life intolerable,

It Pegins Adain.

After that editorial by Christabel Pankhurst we get a short interval probably for Christmas. Soon after Christmas January 22, it begins again, and you will find, sir, that on January 22 this year a meeting took place at the London Pavilson. This time, I suppose, it was desired to advertise the fact that Mrs. Pankhurst was back from America, because she was there. Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence were the speakers. back from America, because she was there.
Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and
Mr. Pethick Lawrence were the speakers.
Mrs. Pankhurst spoke in some detail of the
movement in America, and endeavoured
to show that progress in that country had
been chiefly due to the progress made and
the work done by the Suffragettes in this
country; that the "civil war," as she
described it, had fired the American
women and had given the movement there
great impetus. We may believe that or
not—whether the women of America and
Canada looked with approval on warfare
such as this. Then she went on to express
her gratitude to those women who had
taken part in the demonstration of
November 21, and said that probably
another deputation to the House of
Commons would be necessary. That deputation, she said, would be led by ber, and
if refused admission to the Bar of the
House of Commons to plead her case she
would be the first to threw stones. She
hoped and believed that hundreds, and
even thousands of women would be ready
to accompany her to prison, adding that
they must be prepared for greater molitancy than hitherto. Mr. Pethick Lawrence followed with a discourse on the
Referendum and its bearing upon this
question. He was present, and, as far as
my information goes, he made no attempt
to calm down the effect produced by such
a militant speech as that of Mrs. Pankhurst.

The next is January 29, at the London

The next is January 29, at the London Pavilion. (At that meeting on January 22, I should like to say, there were some 22, I should like to say, there were some 1,600 persons present.) On the 29th there were about 700 at the meeting. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Pankhurst spoke. Mr. Pethick Lawrence referred to the various offences which had been committed—I have not very full reports of his speech. Mrs. Pankhurst's speech was to the effect that it is only by militancy that they could obtain the vote; that they must join her in their thousands, and then their wants would be supplied. You will notice, sir, how from Christmas these meetings, as it were, become more and more requent, and the speeches more and more violent, until you get the culmination of March 4.

London Pavilion, February 5.

Conden Pavilion, February 5.

On February 5 a meeting is held in the London Pavilion, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence makes an announcement that on February 16, at the Connsught Rooms, a social gathering would take place, at which they would welcome their sisters on their release from Holloway Prison. This would be an oventful night, as it would be the day before another demonstration. "We are getting our army ready," says Miss Christabel; "the time has come when we need suffer no more. The time is coming when the prisons will not be able to hold us all. All that is required is soldiers for our army. The time is ripe. This next our army. The time is ripe. This next protest will stagger humanity. Mrs. Pankhurst herself will lead her army." The date, however, of that eventful day was not then given, but we have it a little later on.

Savoy Theatre, February 15.

Then we find a meeting at the Savoy Theatre, on February 15, at which some very serious things were said, on this oc-casion, by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Law-rence. Mrs. Pankhurst said, "What are Ther we going to do? There is nothing for it but fighting! We are full of fight and resource, and we are standing out for better terms. It is no good talking about militancy; it is no good saying that you have got resources unless you are prepared to got resources unless you are prepared to use them and be militant; just now we are in the position of recruiting-sergeants. We want more soldiers. We don't think that the veterans should be allowed to fight alone. We want you to come and make it easier for them and harder for the make it easier for them and harder for the Government. We want soldiers—I am sure many of you will volunteer." Then, again, "We can get this reform if we are determined enough. We are going to carry the women of this country to enfranchisement. There are enough in the Union to fight, and who is going to stand against us?" 118

Mrs. Lawrence said: "I appeal for volunteers for this militant demonstration," remarking that it would require no great courage to throw stones at windows. Several women offered themselves, and Mrs. Lawrence intimated that she would be glad to receive the names of volunteers at 4. Clement's Inn, in order that they might formulate their plans without delay. Mrs. Pankhurst said: "We intend to make a protest if the Government do not carry a measure of Woman Suffrage this

make a protest if the Government do not carry a measure of Woman Suffrage this Session." The people of China, she saids won their freedom at the price of blood, but the freedom of the women of England would be won at the cost of a few panes of glass. She was going out to throw stones with the rest—and so on.

On February 19—but I wan't tradite to read that. It only affects Miss Christabel Pankhurst and somebody named Brackenbury, who said in her hearing, and that of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, that it was the intention of causing the police to arrest even up to thousands. They were gaing out to break windows, and this would tease (?) the persons who are responsible.

Some Circulars.

And now we come to February 23, as to which I shall be able to show you, sir, a very serious article which appeared in the organ of the Society. But before I come to that—I am afraid I am a little out of date—there are some circulars of February 17, 20, and 26. This is the first:—

Only militancy can bring pressure to bear upon the Government, and force it either to unite in dealing with our question, or to resign. Will you join me in making a great militant protest on March 4?

I said, sir, that the date, March 4, had not been mentioned at the meetings, but in this circular is given the date, and it has been circulated amongst the members of the Union.

Many have given in their names to me already, and we shall act whatever you may elect to do; but I want you to remember that the effectiveness of this protest will depend chiefly on numbers. We want you to reply as soon as possible. When replying, please give your Christian name, and so forth.

On February 20 the person answers, and this is Mrs. Pankhurst's reply:—

I am delighted to hear that you will identify youraelf with me on March 4. As I am unable to see
you personally, I have deputed my triend, Mrs.
Molead, to see you and have a talk with you. She
will be in attendance at Miss Brewster's flat at 14.
Clifford's fan. I hope you will take the very earliest
opportunity of calling upon here. Yours sincerely,
E. Pankhurst.

On February 26:-

I understand that you are prepared for militant service in the near future.

Another circular which goes out, headed "Private and Confidential":-

I should very much have liked to have seen you personally, but as that is not possible, I have deputed my friend, Miss Wallace Dunlop, to see you on my behalf. Will you therefore put aside every other engagement, and be at Miss Brackenbury's studio, 2. Campden Hill Square, Notting Hill Gate, W., at nine o'clock on Thursday, February 29, in order that Miss Dunlop may make plain to you our plan of campaign. I am sure you will make every effort to attend this meeting.—Yours sincerely, E. Pankhurst.

There, you see, sir, getting down nearer to the date of March 4, is the circularisation of the Union on February 17; to those who reply on the 20th—so quickly do the replies come in—"Come to Miss Brewster's flat, where you will get some information." Then, on the 26th, "Come to Miss Brackenbury's studio, and there Miss Wallace Dunlop will instruct you in our plan of campaign." Both signed "E. Pankhurst."

" Votes for Women," February 23.

Now we come, sir, to Votes for Women, February 23, written by Mrs. Pankhurst, "The Argument of the Broken Pane,"

page 319:—

We honour these women because, having learnt that the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics, they nerved themselves to use that argument, and they used it with such argument in modern politics, they nerved themselves to use that argument, and they used it with such effect that we are to-day waiting eagerly the issue of dissensions in the very heart and seat of Government itself. Directly you talk of a revolution or a civil war, then you understand the breaking of glass; then you understand every kind of weapon and the use of every weapon in our warfare. If any criticism is to be allowed on women who are fighting for their liberty, it is perhaps that we have not used weapons sufficiently, shall I say, persuasive? We don't want to use any weapons that are unnecessarily strong. If the argument of the stone, that time-honoured official political argument, is sufficient, then we will never use any stronger argument. I believe myself it is. And that is the weapon we are going to use next time. And so I say to every volunteer on our deputation, "Be prepared to use that argument." I am taking charge of the deputation, and that is the argument I am going to use. I am not going to use it for any sentimental reason, but because it is the simplest and the easiest and the most readily understood. Why should women go to Parliament Square and be battered about and be insulted, and, most important of all, produce less effect than when they use stones? We tried it long anough. We submitted for years patiently to insult and to assault. Women had their health injured. Women lost their lives. We should not have minded that if that had succeeded, but that did not succeed, and we have made more progress with less hurt to ourselves by breaking glass than ever we made seed, and we have made more progress with less hurt to ourselves by breaking glass than ever we made when we allowed them to break our bodies. We have to peculiar a sense of proportion in these sentimental days!

days!

After all, is not a woman's life, is not her health, are not her limbs more valuable than panes of glass! There is no doubt about that, but, most important of all, does not the breaking of glass produce more effect upon the Government! If you are fighting a battle, that should dictate your choice of weapons. Well, then, we are going to try this time if mere stones will do it. I do not think it will be necessary for us to arm ourselves like the Chinese women have done, but there are women who are prepared to do that, if it should be necessary. In this Union we don't lose our heads [a truly remarkable statement.] We only go as far as we are obliged to go in order to win, and we are going on the next protest demonstration in full faith that this plan of campaign, initiated by our friends whom we honour lo-night, will on this next occasion prove effective.

"Our friends whom we are honouring to-night" are the prisoners who have just been let out after the November 21 demonstration, or some of them.

London Pavilion Meeting.

And then, sir, there is one more meeting before I come to March 1. Mrs. Pankhurst says, at the London Pavilion:—

I appeal to all the women in this meeting to join in the protest. If we are numerous enough, if we are determined enough, we can make such a situation that, within twenty-four hours of our protest, we shall have the Cabinet Ministers asking us to confer with them.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence also appealed to all persons to attend the protest demon-stration on March 4.

A Letter Quoted. Now about that date, February 24, Mrs. ankhurst wrote a letter and left it be-

the offices were received last week. You will remember an that the circulars of February related to the demanstration on March 4, but we all know that on the evening of March 1 there was almost as disgraceful a scene, where a vast amount of damage was done. This letter of Mrs. Pankhurst's explains this. The following letter, addressed to Dr. Ethel Smyth, was then read:—

On Friday there will be an unannounced affair, a sort of skirmish, in which some of our bad, bold ones will take part, an unadvertised affair. I shall take part, but not in the way I told you of—that is off. On Monday there will be the affair as originally planned. C. and I Ithat is Christabel, no doubt have taked it over. My cough is troublesome. I must take care, or I shall not be very fit for the fray at the end of the week. There may be a long trial. I will meet your train on Monday.

On Friday, March 1, there was a pre-liminary skirmish, and considering the number of women who were in it, there must have been considerable organisation and arrangement for them to act as they did. Mrs. Pankhurst was at the bottom of that, no doubt, and she thought it was a very clever move. "We have advertised March 4, and the police will be called out in their thousands. We clever women— we shall anticipate them by two or three days, and they will have no idea of it." That is the story of the "unannounced affair" of the "skirmish" of March 1.

Now, on that evening of March 1 windows were broken with hainmers. I do not know whether they were of a uniform aims—possibly not. I think I am right in saying that in November stones only were used, and I think you will have evidence from an officer who will speak as to the great similarity of the stones, just as if a number of people had gathered round the same heap and loaded themselves with ammunition, or there had been a quantity of ammunition gathered at some convenient place by this Union. But hammers were in March the weapons adopted. On February 22 or 23 some woman walked into a well-known shop in Fetter Lane, and, under false pretences—absolutely false, of course—induced a well-known tradesman there to sell two dozen of these hammers, and some of the hammers used in the demonstration of March 1—and I think March 4—are those which that tradesman sold. Now, that woman had twenty-four hammers. She insisted on taking them March 4—are those which that tradesman sold. Now, that woman had twenty-four hammers. She insisted on taking them away with her, gave no name or address, got them under false pretences—paid for them, of course. There was no lack of money—with £115,000 to play with in this Union there was no lack of money! All debts are paid right up to date. She paid for them, and got them into her possession. There must have been some meeting-place where those women were armed, and place where those women were armed, and there may be later on in this case some further evidence with regard to that. At any rate, those weapons were used on March 1 and 4.

An M. P. U. Meeting

Now after the arrests on the March 1 outrage, Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Lawrence appeared as usual, and bailed out a great many of the offenders. And then, in the evening of that day, there was a meeting of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, and present at that was Mr. Pethick Lawrence with other men, and this is what he said. I pass over the silly speeches that preceded his—idiotic observations—and come to what was said by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

"When Charlotte Marsh and Mary

was said by Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

"When Charlotto Marsh and Mary Leigh were fed every day by force, William Ball went down nightly to the prison gate and shouted messages of encouragement."

Mr. Lawrence then referred to the plateglass windows which he saw broken on his way to the meeting. He then went on to describe himself as a man of law and order, and one who disliked the waste of property, but if women thought this property, but if women thought this action absolutely necessary for the success of their movement, then he thought they were justified. That was his view after seeing the damaged property of inoffensive tradesmen as he went along the streets. "I am a man of law and order, and dislike waste of property—but the women are justified!"

March 4.

And then we come, sir, to March 4, and it was noticed that on March 4, in regard to which the police had some knowledge that there would be a demonstration, from the circulars and the speeches in the public places. On March 4 it was noticed by police who were watching that a great number of women, in twos and threes, and by driblets, came to Clement's Inn, driving up or walking up, carrying their bags and small portmanteaux, and, after leaving them at the Union, going away.

In the afternoon of that day a meeting was held at the Pavilion Music Hall. Some of the police attended that. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and, I think, others spoke. This is what Mrs. Pethick Lawrence said:—

They thought the women of this country were

They thought the women of this country were inured to political subjection; they have found out their mistake. The worm has turned at last. When I think of all the iniquity that has been waged upon womanhood (and so forth.) When I look at those locken windows, those eloquent mouths—last Honday there stood upon the platform the leader of this movement. Ars. Pankhurst. She reminded you of the deep insult that has been given to the women of this country in the Government's projected Manhood Suffrage Bill, a reform fee which man have never worked, and have never worked; this Manhood

That is, March 1. Miss Christabel Pank-

We want everybody here to realise that we care not two straws for your dislike for our methods. We don't want you to like them, because if you did you would not try to stop them. We want you to deplore them, we want you to condemn them, we want you to long for their abolition, because we know that, if you object sufficiently to these methods you will begin to work with a view to getting Votes for Women.

That is the way in which people are to be bullied nowadays into doing what they either do not like or do not think is right.

be bullied nowadays into doing what they either do not like or do not think is right.

One of the Sunday papers yesterday talked about years of imprisonment. Very well, then, let them give us years of imprisonment. I say they won't do it. I say that they daren't do it. If they do, I will tell you what we will do. It is all mapped out. I will tell you what will happen. If, we say, they are going to give heavy suntences for the mild militancy that has been done on Friday and to day, we say, very well, we may as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb. Let them give us seven years' penal servitude if they like, but they shan't give it to us for nothing. What is holding back so many of our militant women to-day? It is this: that if they have a week or a month's imprisonment, they come out of prison to tace beggary, perhaps. But if it is a case of years of imprisonment, they will say. "Never mind, if we have years of imprisonment, the Government will have to keep us." They will say. "If it is seven years, we will throw up our jobs, we will strike our blow, and we will form a world of free women in Holloway, and let the unjust old world outside go on without us." And it would. That is what we will do. And day by day that community of happy, tree women in Holloway would grow and grow, and every woman who came in would have struck her blow—and a real blow, too—and while we inside were prisoners, the Government would have struck her blow—and a real blow, too—and while we inside were prisoners, the Government would have struck her blow—and a real blow, too—and while we inside were prisoners, the Government would have struck her blow—and a real blow, too—and while we inside were prisoners, the Government would he brood to give women the Vote, and I do not think we should mind very much serving out our time knowing that the women outside had won the vote through us. I am ready for it, I tell you—all of us are. We are ready for seven years' penal servitude to-morrow, and we tell the Government so. We shall do our bit, even if

If they did receive any advice as to the possibility of their being charged with conspiracy, the communication had not much

My friend remands me, str, that on the evening of March 1 Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke had been arrested together for breaking windows in Downing Street, and Mrs. Tuke, when she was before you,

I should like to say this. I deliberately and of set purpose brake the Prime Minister's window because I have reductantly and at length come to the conclusion that it is the only form of argument that the Government understands. The constitutional agitation which has been going on for years is innocuous to them because it does not bring any pressure to bear upon them. I should also like to say that even if there were no grievances under which women were labouring to-day, I should still feel, as a self-respecting woman, that it was impossible for me to be contented any longer under such a condition of things as at present prevails. I resent to my very soul the indignity of the position which women are in to-day without the vote.

And, so far as that lady is concerned, her official position as Hon. Secretary, dealing with various branches of the office work, familiar as the Hon. Secretary with the correspondence of the Union, and present with one of the worst offenders, Mrs. Pankhurst, on the night of March 1, breaking windows—and her reason for it would seem to show that she was heart and soul in the general objects of the conspiracy, although it is right to say that I believe that March 1 is the first time in which she appears to have taken any public or prominent part in the demonstrations. Nor is it to be observed that she has been present, as far as the records of the police go, at any of the public meetings at which these objects have been mentioned.

The Gardenia Restaurant.

But I was dealing, sir, with March 4; I was reading extracts from speeches made at the Pavilion. The meeting ended at five o'clock, and straight from that meeting to the Gardenia Restaurant, in Catherine Street, Strand, went a great number of women, in twos and threes, gathering together at this Gardenia Restaurant. It almost looks as though there were an understanding before the Pavilion meeting that representatives of the militant demonstration should foregather at the Gardenia Restaurant. It is curious that so many should have flocked direct from that meeting, where those inflammatory speeches were made, to the Gardenia Restaurant. There must have been, it would appear, some kind of instruction, either by word or in writing, passed along the ranks for them to go there. At any rate, go they did, and they waited thereabout 150 of them—until about seven o'clock or so. Then they began to leave in small groups, and as many police officers as were told off for that purpose followed those individual groups—come going northwards to Oxford Street, some going south to the Strand—and directly they got into the assigned position for it, they began at once to smash windows. Soven groups at least were followed, all of them present at the Pavilion meeting, all present at the Gardenia Restaurant, all leaving the Gardenia at about the same time, going straight to their particular part of London, and beginning immediately to smash the nearest—and I am bound to say very often the beat—plate glass windows they could come across. That means system and organisa-But I was dealing, sir, with March 4; I

tion and pre-arrangement. I need not remind you, ar, how much evidence there in of the intention to hold on March 4, expressed by one after another of the speakers, a great demonstration—and that word "demonstration" by that time had come to mean what we know it now means—damage to property, organised, concerted, done in various parts of London for the objects and purposes which those speeches indicate. Again, large numbers of women arrested; and again, large numbers of them bailed out.

And so on March 4 ended this great

bers of them bailed out.

And so on March 4 ended this great demonstration, which has done perhaps more to degrade the members of this Union than anything they have previously done, and now those who are the ring-leaders and inciters of them, the officers who give orders, are face to face with the law; and if I prove, as I have indicated, that the whole of these speeches and writings prove that documents which were found at these offices tally with the position of the banking accounts of this concern, and prove the connection of those before you with this Union, I shall submit, sir, that one of the most exceedingly mischievous and deliberate conspiracies will have been proved, and that there is only one Court for persons charged with so serious an offence as this, and that is the Central Criminal Court of London. Court of London.

Court of London.

My friend, Mr. Neville, will prove some facts, and produce some of the officers who charged those women, and saw them on that day. A great many documents will be looked at later on, marked and exhibited later on, and I am sure, sir, that one of the magistrates of this Court will lose no time magistrates of this Court will lose no time. in investigating a serious and important prosecution such as this undoubtedly is.

The Witnesses.

After the luncheon interval Mr. Thomas Rowe, clerk in the employ of the Westminster City Council, Charing Cross Road, gave evidence with regard to the rateable property at Nos. 3 and 4, Clement's Inn. Frederick William Pethick Lawrence was the rated occupier of 86, 87 and 119; Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence of Nos. 90, 94, and 98 in 3 and 4, Clement's Inn, and of Nos. 33 and 34 in 5 and 6. Cross-examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, the witness said he did not know, but would not deny that 86 and 87 and 119 might be private flats in Mr. Pethick Lawrence's occupation for nine or ten years, some occupation for nine or ten years, some years before the Women's Social and Political Union came to London.

Mr. Archibald Ernest Christie, surveyor, of 12, Gt. St. Helens, E.C., agent to the owners, who produced the agreement, examined by Mr. Neville, said he thought there was no doubt that 86 and 87 were let to Mr. Lawrence in August, 1901, and that Mr. Lawrence May been in occupation at any rate from May lest in occupation at any rate from May last. There had been a change of ownership since the agreement was entered inte, and he could not speak for further back. He produced also an agreement for 119 to Mr. Lawrence, dated September 18, 1902. These were described as residential chambers or rooms. Nos. 64 to 76 in the same building, agreement dated Novement chambers or rooms. Nos. 64 to 76 in the same building, agreement dated November 28, 1907, were described as rooms or offices, and were let to Emmeline Pethick Lawrence, wife of Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, Nos. 30 and 31, dated May 8, 1908, and No. 94, dated December 9, 1908, were let to Mrs. Emmeline Pethick Lawrence as rooms or offices. No. 90, October 6, 1909; No. 12, May 12, 1909; No. 98, January 31, 1911, were let to Mrs. E. P. Lawrence. With regard to Nos. 5 and 6, Clement's Inn, there was an agreement dated April 25, 1911, for the letting of Nos. 33 and 34 in that building to Mrs. E. P. Lawrence. All these premises, with E. P. Lawrence. All these premises, with the exception of those in the first two agreements, were described as rooms or

By Mr. Neville: The total rent comes to £1,214?—I will take your word, sir.

Examined by Mr. Neville: The rents of Mr. Lawrence were paid separately; the others mostly together, as far as his recollection went. It would be Mrs. Lawrence's cheque that paid the rent of the

Cross-examined by Mr. Pethick Lawcross-examined by Mr. Pethick Lawrence: I think it is really quite clear from
the evidence that Nos. 86 and 87 and 119
which were in my name are, as a matter of
fact, all residential flats?—Yes, certainly;
they have always been understood to be.

And there is a service and everything
attached to them, the same as to residential flats?—Yes, service, and catering as
well

Inspector Powell.

Francis Powell, Inspector of the Special Branch, Scotland Yard, stated that he had been engaged for some months in con-nection with the W.S.P.U., and that there had been about 130 cases in November in

Speaking generally, at what time did the cases occur of damage to property?— In the evening.

In the evening.

Yes, at what time?—From 7 to 9 o'clock.

Were you in the streets that evening?—

No, I was not in the streets.

As from that time did you know that for some reason there were very few planchothes officers in the street?—(Witness did not quite understand this question.)

You say you were connected with many of the cases. Did you see in court articles produced with which it was alleged the damage was done?—Yes, I saw them first

produced at Cannon Row Station and then

produced at Cannon Row Station and then at the police court.

What were they?—Stones and hammers. Did you notice anything about the stones?—Yes, I thought they were somewhat uniform in size; they were not likely to be picked up in the street or in the city of London. They looked like flints that would be found on a beach.

The hammers?—They were to a certain extent uniform also, and in most cases they had a hole in the end of the handle, so that the hammer could be suspended from somewhere.

somewhere.

What property was damaged in Novem-

Were the persona accused women?—Yes. In all cases?—In all cases of damaged

property.

Did you know any of those who were arrested by sight?—Oh, many of them.

As what?—As having appeared in previous raids, and being previously arrested.

Members?—Some of them I knew to be

steedants at the meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union. Their faces were quite familiar to us.

Did you see any one of the defendants out on that night?—I say Mr. Lawrence, I believe at the relieve station of the relieve rise.

believe, at the police station afterwards.

That was afterwards. Was not one of the defendants taken into custody that night?—I believe Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

You were not perhaps concerned in that case?—No, I was not directly concerned.

How many women do you think were brought to Cannon Row that night?—Oh, I should think about 130—I cannot be sure.

You are speaking from memory?—Yes.

You say you saw Mr. Pethick Lawrence there?—I es.

Don't answer unless you remember, but

Don't answer unless you remember—but do you remember when it was he came—about how long after the first culprits had been brought in?—Oh, it would be an hour or so after the first arrests.

The procedure of admitting to bail is left to the uniformed officers, is it not?—Yes. Now, after that date did you attend certain meetings of the W.S.P.U.?—I did. And amongst others do you remember being present on March 4 last, at the Pavilion Music Hall?—I was there in the afternoon.

What time did the meeting begin and end?—It commenced at a quarter past three, and it ended about five.

How many people should you think were present?—I should think about 800—the place was fairly full.

Were there men as well as women there?

Several men. Beside yourself?-Several police officers

and others.

Besides yourself there were other men? —Yes, many of them sympathisers, and others, people who came there to obstruct the progress of the meeting.

Did you have to pay to go in?—I did

not pay. There was one part free.
You selected the free part?—Yes.
Did any particular sex predominate
in numbers?—Oh, yes, the female sex to a
great extent—90 per cent. I should think.
Was there an officer there who took some shorthand notes of the speeches?-There

Constable Auger?—Yes. Can you tell me whether any of the defendants were present?—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence occupied the chair on the plat-form; Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke, and also Dr. Ethel Smyth; she is not in

ourt.
Mr. Bodkin: Oh, I must see the reason

for that. Was the meeting rather quiet?-- No, it might be described almost as a stormy one. There was considerable opposition.

Were you able, from where you were, to hear those speeches?—Oh, perfectly.

Was Auger with you?—He was. Were you present at the offices when

the search was made?—I was. Can you tell me was a typed copy of speeches headed "London Pavilion, March

4th," found there?—Yes. Is that it (producing speech)?-I believe 1t 1s.

Is one by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence?-Yes. Another one had a similar place and date, headed "Miss Christablel Pankhurst"?—That was also found.

hurst"?—That was also found.

Have you looked through these typed copies?—Yes.

Have you looked through exhibits 13 and 14 (Mrs. Lawrence's and Miss Pankhurst's appearies), and they appear to be correct transcripts of the two speeches, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel respectively?—Yes, they appear to be a fair report.

Po you remember whether this is correct?—Miss Christabel [changed his mind and did not read the extract]. Were there other speakers?—Yes, there was Dr. Ethel Smyth.

When the meeting brake up, what became of those present?—Many of them went out to different places—most of them to the Gardenia Restaurant.

Did you go to the Gardenia?—I did. When you arrived at the Gardenia Res-taurant; was that in Catherine Street?—

Had you any other officers with you?-

When did the women again leave?—It was before seven; about a quarter past six.

The women began to leave the restaurant in groups?—Yes, in some cases in threes,

in some cases as many as five.

Most of those who left went in the direction of Oxford Street?—Yes.

Of those people you had seen at the meeting in the afternoon, about how many

should you think you would recognise going into the Gardemi?—I suppose eight out of every ten people who were at the Gardenia had been to the meeting previously at the Pavilion Music Hall.

I were these groups who left the Gardenia composed of the same women whom you had seen at the meeting and go into the Gardenia?—Yes. There were a few whom I had not seen at the meeting, but very few. very few

And they turned to the left?-Yes. As some of these groups left the Gardenia did you give some directions to your officers?—Yes, some; we could not spare many at the time.

You gave directions for some of the groups to be followed?—Yes.

Did you know the women of those groups

you directed to be followed?-Yes. Some of them as having been previously convicted, and as having taken a prominent part and associated with such women as have been to prison?—Yes.

Were they members of this Union as far as you know?—As far as I know, yes. I

believe them to be.

No badges that night?—No badges that

night. No badges?-Oh, none! There wasn't

a badge on one of the prisoners. You say you have been at meetings of this Union since November?—Yes, at the important meetings. I see; you don't go to the private meet-

I see; you don't go to the private meetings; you go to the public meetings.

At those public meetings are the badges worn as a rule?—Oh, yes:

On that night not a badge?—No badges.

Do you know the names of some of the women you directed to be followed?—Yes.

Had they anything with them, anything being carried?—Well, it wasn't apparent, but from what transpired afterwards. but from what transpired afterward Oh, but you did not see anything being

carried?-No. At what time did you leave? At about a quarter past seven.

Did you follow a couple?—I did.
You were the last officer to leave?—Yes;
there were several people at the Gardenia

Who were the two that you followed?-Two sisters named Lulley. Louise and Kate?—Yes.

Where did you follow them to, Inspector Powell?—I followed them to the Strand. They walked about for a little while as if killing time, then met two others, with whom they went into Lyons' for a few minutes.

Where did you see those two?-I saw them some time before.
With the two Lilleys?—Yes.

Then after the refreshment?—They walked down Whitehall. There was some little space between the two lots at that time, but the two sisters stopped close together all the time.

Between the two pairs there was a space?-There was a space.

When they got just outside the War Office they were slightly separated, these two sisters, by the crowd. They each threw a missile, which I am satisfied was a stone, at the War Office windows, breaking two panes. Yes, and what became of them?—They

arrested by a uniformed policeman and taken to Cannon Row. Can you say whether they were bailed? Did you go to Cannon Row as well, and see

what happened?—Yes, they were bailed; but I am not prepared to say by whom. In this paper, Votes for Women of the 8th of March—have you got a spare copy (turning to his junior)?
Mrs. Pankhurst: I should like a copy, if

you please. [It was understood that she should have one.] Mr. Bodkin: Those two ladies were

searched at Cannon Row, and two stones found in the possession of each?—Yes.

In Votes for Women, page 363, list of arrests and sentences, you will find Kate Lilley and Miss Louise marked?—Yes. And the columns recording their fate are

not filled up?—That is so.

You don't happen to have the two st here, do you?-Yes. Do you recognise them, Powell?—They are the stones that were found on them.

The Magistrate: Did you see them found (Mr. Bodkin explained that the officer who found the stones would be in court, and the magistrate said that they had better wait until the officer came.)

Cross-examined by Mr. Lawrence.

In the early part of your evidence, when you were speaking of the stones that were found in November, you said that they were somewhat the same kind of stones. Were they flint stones?—They were rather rounder than those—
Were they flint?—Yes.

What do you mean by saying that they were mostly flints of uniform size?—Well, mostly flints—as if they came from the one locality.

You mean you can distinguish between flints coming from one locality or another?

No; but I can distinguish between flints from the land and those out of the sea.

Are you an expert in stones?—Oh, no.

Do you mean to say that you can distinguish then between flints from——?

I do not think it is difficult to distinguish between stones from the seashore and those

dug up out of the land.

Do you consider that these were stones from the seashore?—I do.

Apart from the fact that these were

stones which appear to you to have been found on the seashers, you have no other

ground of similarity?—Absolutely none; and I am not an expert, as I said before.

I put it to you that if you were going to break a window, you would choose a flint—you would not use a sandstone?—It would depend upon the circumstances.

You would use a sandstone?—Oh, no; I would use anything that came into my hand.

hand.

You would use a flint?—The stones that were found gave me the impression that

what I am asking you is this: If you were prepared to break a window, would you or would you not use a flint stone?—

And you would divide flints, then, into two kinds—those that are found on the seashore and those that are found on land? Oh, not necessarily. You can get them sufficiently hard for the purpose in the land; but these appear to have been rounded off by the sea or some other run-

That is what I say. The only distinction you draw is between those that are found in the land and those that are found by

the seashore?—Yes.

Then when you say that these stones that were used were all similar, what you really mean is simply this: that they were flints, and they belonged to one kind, namely, flints out of the sea?—That is my

So that your evidence with regard to this does not really by any means point to a common origin in regard to these stones? No.

That is the point I wanted to bring out. Now, with regard to my presence at Can-non Row shortly after the events of No-vember 21 and of the dates in the current month, you have said that I had been at Cannon Row for the purpose of bailing several of the defendants?—I did not say

for the purpose of bailing.

But you said I was there? About an hour and a half after?—Yes, even a little more than that.

So far as you are concerned, there is nothing in what you suggest any more than that I was informed that there were women arrested in Cannon Row, and that I should be wanted for bailing them out?—I should

not like to say.

I will put it to you in another way.
On several occasions when women have been arrested and taken to Cannon Row the Cannon Row police have telephoned to me to know whether I would bail out some of the women?-I do not know that. Well, that is so; but, stillhave been there many a day, but I do not

know how you came there. You have no reason for thinking it is

not so, at any rate?—No.
You have no reason for thinking it is not true that I have been sent for by the

Cannon Row Station people by direct mes-sage?—No reason to think it at all.

I think you said that I stood bail for a large number of the women on some of these days?—I did not say it; but I say it now.

I have done, at any rate?—Yes, you have done it. You are aware that I have on previous coasions stood bail for women?—Yes, on

many days.

I should just like you to say whether on any of these occasions any of the women ever escheated their bail?—I cannot speak

from my knowledge.

As far as you know, none of the women have ever escheated their bail or failed to appear?—As far as I know we have no reason for thinking that it has occurred.

As a matter of fact, the women of the Wemen's Social and Political Union have been specially punctilious in keeping to their word and to their bail on all occasions?—On most occasions. On most occa-

sions the women are truthful. On most occasions? On what occasions were they not truthful?—Well, I think a woman tells a lie when she gives a false

name and address.

But so far as keeping bail and surrendering of bail is concerned, you have always been able to rely upon them?-Yes.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Lawrence.

I should like to ask you several questions with respect to your evidence. The Pavilion on March 4—you said I spoke on that occasion?—Yes. And that you remembered my speech?-

Do you remember a certain point and part of my speech which was devoted to the question of who incited the women to take their action of Friday?—Yes, you put it down to a Cabinet Minister.

You will remember, then, that in my speech I asked a question as to who incited the women? Do you remember the answer that I gave?—Yes, I think you blamed the Government, and you to a great extent blamed this Minister that I

Yes; do you remember the name?—Mr. Hobhouse, I think. Do you remember the exact sentence that I quoted P—Well, I can't repeat it

you could find it in the report, and you could find it in the pages of Vores

FOR WOMEN. Do you remember the substance of that?

—I remember that passage distinctly.

Will you tell us what the substance of it was?—You said that Mr. Hobbouse was to blame for the action of the women, and you also blamed the Cabinet Ministers for breaking faith with women.

You say that I blamed Mr. Hobbouse?-

Yes.

Do you remember what I blamed him for?—In connection with some speech delivered at Bristol, I think.

Yes. I put it to you that I repeated to the audience a verbatim report of a speech nelvered by Mr. Hobbonse, wherein he taunted the women in this movement that they had done nothing like the men did in 1832 when they burned down Nottingham Castle, or in 1867 when they pulled down the Hyde Park railings. He said there had been no such sentimental ebullition of feeling in the women's franchise movement. feeling in the women's franchise movement. Do you remember that?—Yes, those pas-

sages did occur in your speech.

Do you know what happened in Nottingham in 1832?—No, I am sorry to say I

You don't remember that the people here burned down the palace of an Anti-Suffragist peer, and also burned down the houses of other Anti-Suffragists?—I am

Now, to come back to the substance of that speech. Do you remember that I said that no leader of the women's movement would have dared to use language of that kind to the women in this movement?-Yes, I have an idea you did make use of the expression, but I am not clear on it. And do you remember the reason I gave why they would not dare?—No, I cannot

Well, perhaps you will remember when I recall it to you. Do you remember that I said they would not dare to use such language because they knew the material they had to deal with, and that these Cabinet Ministers did not realise the spirit that was in the women's movement?—You may have used that, but I don't remember it.

Do you remember that I said that we felt too deeply responsible to use language that irresponsible Cabinet Ministers felt able to use?—You said something about irresponsible Cabinet Ministers, but I can-

not remember the exact words. You remember me saying something about irresponsible Cabinet Ministers?—

Yes, I remember that.

And you do not remember my drawing a contrast between the responsibility we felt?— I cannot remember. But you think I may have said it?-

You may have said it, yes.

Do you remember also my reference to the Bristol Riots that took place in 1832?

Yes, you did refer to the Bristol riots.

Do you remember my pointing out how very much more severe, how very much more violent, the methods of the men were at that time?—Yes, you did.

Do you remember my saying that women had not to use these methods that men used, that they were less emotional, less hysterical, and less violent than men, and more politically-minded? I don't remember that And we hoped that these milder measures

you will remember that?-No, I don't remember it—you may have said it. You said in your evidence that the meeting was somewhat stormy?—Yes.
You described the meeting as very full?

Yes, it was a good meeting from your point of view. I should like you to tell me where the "stormy" people were? Were they in the front of the audience?—No. they were at the back. I couldn't see them; I knew they were men by their voices. In the gallery where I was there were several men who interrupted

men who interrupted. Were there any women who interrupted? No, I didn't notice any women. I put it to you—the interruptions did not come from the seated audience?—No, I rather incline to think that they were

standing.

Yes, that was so. There were a very few men who drifted in at the back and kept up an interruption which was very easily dominated?—Yes.

One more question. You said, in referring to the fact that women wore no badges that night, you said no badges were the order of the day.—I did not hear the order given, but I have heard it since.

You have heard it since?—That was the order.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst.

I was not present at this particular meeting, so I have no question to ask about the meeting. I just want to ask you about the bailing of Mr. Pethick Lawrence. You were present the night that I was arrested and taken to Cannon Row. You saw me there. Don't you know that at my request the officials at Cannon Row telephoned to Mr. Pethick Lawrence, as a friend of mine, to come and bail me out? I do not know.

Mr. Bodkin: Is it not a fact... May I help Mrs. Pankhurst? I am going to call the uniformed inspectors about ball the ones who actually dealt with it. Mr. Blanco White reserved his cross-examination; his friend, Mr. Muir; when he came might wish to ask questions.

Remanded until half-past ten, Thursday,

March 21.

Mr. Curtis Bennett granted Mrs. Law-Mr. Curtis Bennett granted Mrs. Lawrence's request to have a conversation with
Mr. Lawrence, but refused Mrs. Pankhurst's request for an interview with her
co-defendants. He said "the husband was
enough," and told Mrs. Pankhurst that
she had her solicitor. Mrs. Pankhurst
said that she wanted material to prepare
for her defence. Mr. Curtis Bennett said
that he had given instructions that Mr.
Marshall should have leave to see her at
all times.



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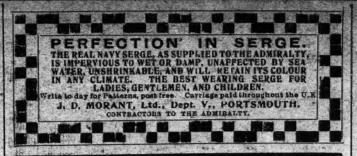
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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, MARCH 22, 1912.

IN FOUR DAYS!

Legislation at full speed! That is an idea which has great attraction for Suffragettes. It was in 1870 that the first Woman Suffrage Bill passed its second reading, and in all those forty-two years, Parliament has never found time to give women the Vote.

Yet now the politicians are telling us that it could have been done in a day or two.

They are at this moment rushing through a Bill in four days.

But this promise of swift and sudden legislation is not being made to women-at least, not yet. It is in regard to miners' wages that the Government intend to act in such unwonted haste. The miners in fourteen short days have brought the Government to legislation-point, whereas women have in nearly fifty years of agitation failed to achieve as much. Why is this? The reason obviously is that the miners' methods have been more effective, and that in addition to this they have something like a million votes in reserve for use at the next Election. The Government's promise to legislate is certainly not based on any liking for the task in hand. On the contrary, there is perhaps nothing they dislike more than the legal establishment of a minimum wage. It is as certain as anything can be that the Cabinet are united in their reluctance to enter upon the policy of legislative interference with the wages of working men. They have made prolonged and desperate efforts, at tremendous additional cost to the community, to escape the necessity of carrying a Minimum Wage Bill. It is only under pressure of sheer and stern necessity that they have decided to run counter to their own inclinations by carrying such a measure. The fact is that with the country on the verge of ruin, and public opinion demanding a way of escape from the threatened catastrophe, the Government must either legislate or go. They have decided to legislate.

Not until the pressure of the women's movement is, like the pressure of the miners' movement, strong enough to compel the Government to choose between quitting office and carrying an Act of Parliament, will women get the Vote. If the miners had trusted merely to the justice of their cause, the suavity of their manners, the kindness of the Cabinet, and the good faith of the Prime Minister, we should not at the end of a fortnight have seen the Government

Wage question. No, it is by making themselves a nuisance—"by pestering people," to quote from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's advice to Suffragettes—that the miners have caused the Government "to get a move on." Even now these militant and distrustful miners, warned perhaps by the Government's treatment of the Woman Suffrage cause, refuse to trust to any mere pledges, however near the appointed date of their fulfilment. They have announced that they will not return to work until a measure which satisfied them has actually been placed upon the Statute Book. For relentless, persistent, and uncompromising militancy, the miners have certainly left the W.S.P.U. behind.

But so far as the race for the legislative goal is concerned, we shall not allow the miners or anyone else to leave us behind. Our watchword is "Votes this Session." We have said that before, but we say it now with a new determination. We say to the Government that there has been enough of this foolery. There has been enough, and far too much, of the insulting and nonsensical excuse that "the Cabinet is divided." If the Cabinet is still divided on Votes for Women, it is our aim and intention to unite it in favour of that reform.

The Conciliation Bill has been postponed, and under the Government's present attitude towards the whole question, we remain indifferent to the postponement. We have only two things to say about the measure. The first is that if the men of the country are to have, under Manhood Suffrage, a voting strength of twelve millions, then women will not be content to vote only as householders, and to have a paltry million votes:

The second thing we have to say is that we do not trust to the passage of this or any other unofficial measure. We have completely lost faith in the power of the Private Member to carry legislation. Measures brought forward by Private Members are, as we know from an experience now repeated, entirely at the mercy of the Government, who can at any moment destroy them.

For forty-two years unofficial Bills for Woman Suffrage have been brought forward. Because the Government were not behind them, they have all ended in failure. In 1910 there seemed a prospect that the Conciliation Bill might be carried, but the Government prevented this. In 1911 conditions were even more favourable, but the Government again prevented the passage of the Bill, on the plea of want of time. The sham character of this excuse is amply proved by their present ability, in a Session much more crowded, to find time for the Minimum Wage Bill. The Women's Social and Political Union, scrupulously anxious to do nothing unnecessary, and anxious also to preserve unity among the Suffrage forces inside and outside the House of Commons, consented then for the last time to trust to a promise made by politicians. That trust was ill-repaid. First came the announcement of an official Reform Bill for men only. Then it was found that dissension was being sown by members of the Government who have divided themselves into at least four groups on the Woman Suffrage question. Now we have the Government, in defiance of their pledges, coquetting with the Referendum. These and other signs there are that unless and until the Government can be made to shoulder the responsibility of carrying a Woman Suffrage Bill, women will continue to be voteless, and that there is no hope for a Private Member's measure. Therefore, when people tell us that certain M.P.'s, whether from dislike of the W.S.P.U., or from a desire to please the Government, are proposing to vote against the Conciliation Bill or against an amendment to the Reform Bill, we are unmoved. The canvass of M.P.'s which Mr. Crawshay Williams, M.P., who was for some time Parliamentary secretary to Mr. Lloyd George, made against the Conciliation Bill, does not at all dismay us. It is not our business to marshal Members of Parliament in support of Woman Suffrage. It is the Government Whips who must do that, and do it they will, when Woman Suffrage becomes a Government measure. The agitation in the country is our concern. The aim and object of that agitation is to bring pressure to bear upon the Government. Whatever happens to the Conciliation Bill in future, whether the second reading is carried or not, our course of action will be unchanged. We shall go steadily on with our task of securing the enactment of a Government measure giving to women the same voting rights as those possessed by men.

THE PERFIDY OF SYMPATHIZERS

By Elizabeth Robins.

There are Suffragists who have been at a loss, up to the last few days, to detect the smallest service done by recent militancy.

These persons owe to such "sympathizers" as Sir William Byles, the knowledge of disguises torn away, and pretences shattered by the events of the last three

Personally, I do not believe that Mrs. Pankhurst, in her most militant mood, would have ventured to foretell so ironic a proof of the untrustworthiness of politicians as has been offered to the world in the threats of withdrawal on the part of certain friends -" up-till-now."

Not the words of Mr. Hobhouse at Bristol, not Lord Haldane's contempt for the more patient policy of pinpricks, nothing that has yet been said, sheds so much light on the meaning of militancy as the spectacle of these lesser "Sympathizers" finding in broken glass an excuse for breaking promises.

We have had, to be sure, Lord Lytton's commentary: "Members of Parliament are just as hysterical as women, lose their heads just as readily and are just as apt to fly to extremes upon the smallest provocation."

And still many a Suffragist has read the papers with astonished eyes, taking in only gradually the fact that, here was proof upon proof, of a truth veiled before from all but the more astute.

The simpler-minded are learning not a little from the object-lesson afforded by the spectacle of these Champions, tumbling over one another, in their haste to run away from a great principle-which we would have thought they would be all the stauncher to defend, the more they honestly thought that principle endangered.

One of the greatest difficulties the Suffrage leaders have had to deal with has been the problem of how to prevent their followers from being lulled into a false security; how to guard the rank and file from reposing a too implicit confidence upon politicians content to call themselves friends, and "leave it at that."

The_difficulty presented by this dead-lock is fast disappearing. A touchstone has been applied which enables the Suffragist, with an irrefragable certainty, to detect the pinchbeck in political sympathy from the gold.

The simplicity which I have admitted has not been all on the side of women.

· The Pall Mall Gazette of March 6 was so good as to tell us who those were, who had "been driven into the Anti-Suffrage camp by the window-

They were "those who were luke-warm."

Another paper says: "Hitherto the mass of men have listened to the appeal of women for Votes with kindly toleration" (the italics mine). The paragraph ends: "There are ominous signs, however."

These signs and omens are precisely those needed by, as I say, the more confiding type of Suffragist. Many a woman has come with difficulty, and only in these last two weeks, to see that with a certain number of men (a small number, we are glad to believe) the promise to support Woman Suffrage bore no relation to conviction on the subject.

Not patience alone has suffered by that discovery, but the respect which we find no difficulty in feeling for straightforward opponents.

Much has been made of the surface differences between the Suffrage camps. Yet we are at one not only in the prime article of our faith. We take precisely the same view of the perfidy of "friends"

both in and out of the House of Commons. Members of the W.S.P.U. are the first to say that if punishment of all Suffragists, for the militant acts of a section, represents men's idea of fairness-it

certainly does not represent women's. The carrying out of these poor threats will be taken by the W.S.P.U., and ultimately by the public, as further justification of that cumulative distrust of the so-called friends of the Suffrage, and that cumulative abhorrence of bad faith which lately found public expression.

Many women feel an unconquerable, vicarious shame on looking into the record of certain of our "friends." -

Leaving out of count the more flagrant cases of bad faith, we find that members of Parliament seem to think themselves active in our behalf, even generous, almost daring, when they have repeated the fiftyyear-old conviction: women should be represented as well as taxed.

But when the mere iteration of that conviction has come to sound damnable in ears strained to catch the logical conclusion-when women have shown they were not as content, as men seem, with talking and writing about Reform-when, casting about for some means to force a skulking "sympathy" into the open, women succeed at last in driving such sympathizers, first out of hiding, and ultimately out of the field, they find they have done the next best thing to making an honest friend.

What remains to be found out is not someone's

opinion of militant methods as a means of drawing public attention to an urgent matter too long neglected-though few will say that end has not been achieved. What tens of thousands of women want to know is: How much verifiable foundation was there for the belief in the bad faith of certain supporters "?

The world has already seen with what amazing celerity certain gentlemen have sprung forward to answer that question with public justification of the

worst suspicions of the militants.

The Suffragist member of Parliament who finds an excuse for his supineness in women's impatience with that very defect in him, the man who cries out: "Look at me, while I wriggle out of my pledge through a hole in the window!"-owes the public an explanation of why he ever gave himself the trouble to endorse a principle which, by his own confession, means for him so little.

Did he endorse Woman Suffrage because he thought he might count on ample time to fondle the theme in public, and to attitudinize on platforms as the champion of woman? Or was he a Suffragist because he felt sure that never would any woman be a Suffragist in stark earnest—as passionate for freedom as a man?

However he may answer these questions, he may rest assured that the "sympathizer" who at this crisis withdraws his support will be recognised for

One of the hopeful things about the coming of women into public affairs is that women are not hypnotised by party shibboleths, nor blinded to plain issues because those issues are given misleading names.

Nothing so surprises women, nothing so shames humanity in their eyes, as the shifts and insincerities certain public men permit themselves.

In the face of their shoulder-shrugging at-our ignorance of politics and law, few women will be found to envy the erudition and experience which enable that eminent publicist, Prof. Dicey, for instance, to acknowledge without shame, his hope that those of his sex who have endorsed the principle of Woman Suffrage have endorsed that principle without being convinced of its justice er concerned to see justice done.

Without contradiction, Prof. Dicey was represented by the Press last autumn as saying: "It is idle to count up the number of M.P.'s nominally pledged to the principle of Woman Suffrage. I refuse to be imposed upon by the political fiction that all these pledged M.P.'s have made up their own minds to sanction the most novel, and one of the most hazardous of social and political experiments."

Truly, militancy beside that seems not only respect-

able, but austerely moral.

Certain critics of the W.S.P.U., knowing that the trifling and insincerity of politicians was the root cause of the militant outbreak, now represent the Union as rejoicing over the latest illustration of the ground for distrust. If that supposed view of the militants is to be justified to the full, let more, and yet more, of our "friends" in Parliament show to the world the base metal of their support.

THE VOTE OF SUPPLY.

There is one vote that women are universally encouraged to use-the Vote of Supply-and the members of the Women's Social and Political Union have never been backward in exercising it. Whenever supplies are called for, Suffragettes are there to vote them with a disregard for debate that should put legislators to shame. Their Honorary Treasurer is in Holloway Gaol; let it be said, when she comes out again, that as she went in, her mantle fell upon the Suffragettes who were left outside. This is the moment for every woman who cares for the honour of the Cause and the Union to show in a practical manner that the imprisonment of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. is only a fresh incentive to raise funds. The Self-Denial Fund, and the fund voted at the Albert Hall meeting on March 28, should reach a record total in the eyes of a public that expected to see the downfall of the Union follow upon the imprisonment of its leaders.

We have received some enquiries as to whether the Government is going to attach these funds. In reply, we should like to quote Shelley's words, "I always go on until I am stopped-and I never am stopped." The W.S.P.U. always goes on until it is stopped-and it never is stopped. Aware of the Government's ability and readiness to rush any Bill through Parliament, except the one Bill which will stop the present unrest among women, we are not surprised at this excess of caution in a few of our surprised at this excess of caution in a few of our readers. But it is difficult to believe that even a Liberal Government can so far depart from its principles as to allow the confiscation of a fund built up of the self-sacrifice of women, of the pennies of the poor and the gold of the wealthy—a free gift in a commercial age to the cause of freedom. Further, we can assure our would-be subscribers that should the impossible be attempted by the Government, they will have the Women's Social and Political Union to reckon with—a body of alert business women, armed with the experience, the wit, and the resource acquired by five years of successful conflict and centuries of repression. We ask for trust and confidence as well as a convenient for the succession. dence, as well as generosity from the women who subscribe to the funds to-day.

SELF-DENIAL.

Evidence continues to pour in of the sacrifices made by members of the Women's Social and Political Union in order to raise money for the propagation of their cause. From one woman comes a cheque because she feels it "a real privilege to belong to a Union that counts among its members such gentle, unselfish, heroic women" as she heard, "sentenced at Bow Street to two months' hard labour for breaking 2s. 6d. worth of glass." A member of the Tunbridge Wells W.S.P.U. promises to give £1 a week as the nucleus of a fund to last as long as the imprisonment of their Hon. Secretary, and calls upon other local Unions to do the same as a response to the long sentences now being given. An excellent idea! From Holloway College comes the cheery voice of youth—" We of the W.S.P.U. are working hard to get funds. Five of us under the name of the 'Philogynists' are doing the odd jobs of the whole College for small sums.

Then, most precious of all, come the pennies of the workers:—a few shillings from one, consisting of 2d. or 3d. a day, deducted from my lunch money, so that it has taken some time to collect." Another has gone without flowers for weeks—her only luxury; another apologises for the smallness of her gift, but "I am entirely dependent on my own earnings; I know you will understand." Most certainly we understand, and so will our readers. It is this spirit

that turns pennies into fairy gold.

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MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN. In a letter to the Times of March 18 Miss Harraden

said :-Miss Elizabeth Robins in your columns has been telling your readers "that the ideal for which Woman Suffrage stands has come, through suffer-

ing, to be a religion."

She is indeed right. How else could one account for the deep force at work which impels women of all ages and conditions-women of eighty, middle-aged mothers, young wives, and unmarried women of all professions and callings-to do, dare, risk, and sacrifice everything for the Suffrage cause?

Believe me, Sir, it is not merely the personal influence of the militant leaders. It is a rallying call to women which is resounding over hill and dale. It is the Weltschmerz of the women. It is the accumulated sense of bitter wrong and injustice, borne patiently, too patiently, for centuries, and now in England finding expression in deeds of disorder which would never have been perpetrated but for the deliberate policy of provocation persisted in by this Liberal Government during these last six years.

Or perhaps it is fairer to call it a policy of unconscious rather than of deliberate provocation, for the simple reason that the Prime Minister, as we all know, has allowed himself to remain extraordinarily ignorant of the meaning of the woman's movement in any of its aspects and developments, militant or

otherwise.

Meanwhile, owing directly to this most regrettable neglect to inquire into the causes of the general unrest amongst the women of England, some of her finest and noblest women, of whose courage, capabilities, attainments, and powers of devotion any country might well be proud, have been goaded into rebellion, and are paying the penalty, rightly, of course, from the point of view of the law.

They disappear from our midst for a time. But, to use Swinburne's beautiful words-

"Their light is a quenchless flame That shines as dawn on a tideless sea."

MISS EVELYN SHARP.

In the course of a letter published in the Manchester Guardian, Miss Evelyn Sharp said :-

As a sometime believer in Liberalism I must confess my inability to understand how the Government's treatment of the cause of women's freedom can find a single genuine supporter in their own party or in the Liberal Press. Again and again the Manchester. Guardian, even more than other Liberal organs, has sympathised with rebels in foreign countries who have been driven to excesses by the oppression or indifference of their Government-Indians, Turks, Russians, who have even taken life in defence of their civic rights, Albanians, who have risen in defence of their alphabet. In all these instances the Government, no doubt, had as good a case for delaying reform, as good an appearance of promising reform fjudged by the standard of liberty and civilisation obtaining in their country), as our Government now has in this country, and their party supporters were probably as prone as English Liberals are to-day to see madness in single-mindedness and fanaticism in a passion for liberty that will no longer brook delay. I admit that it is easier to detect a patriotic motive in a political murder committed out of sight than in a stone thrown through a window in Bond Street. Mr. Hobhouse, who is unable to discover the existence of a suffrage movement at all because its supporters did instance of this political blindness. . . . Perhaps Liberalism has an answer to give to all this. If so, what is it? I can only see that if Liberals and the Liberal Press had taken a firm stand six years ago and held to it on a question that goes to the root of all Liberalism women suffragists would never have needed to become passive resisters in Parliament Square, and the passive resisters of six years ago would never have needed to become the stonethrowers of to-day. I suppose, however, that this has been true of the successive stages of every revolution that has ever occurred in the world's history, and it is useless to discuss the ethics of rebellion with those who do not seem aware that this is a revolution.

THE REV. F. M. GREEN, B.D. (Vicar of St. Mark's, Tollington Park).

In the course of an article in the Standard (Woman's Platform) on March 15, Mr. Green wrote :

"The recent riotous proceedings on the part of women in the streets of London were the outcome of women in the streets of London were the outcome of injustice done to women by withholding from them any share in the political franchise. . . . The persistent refusal of justice to women has raised the question: How were past injustices remedied? How were past instalments of freedom won? The answer has been plain. No great advance has ever been made in the cause of political freedom or social.

justice without open revolt against the unjust law or oppressive condition which needed to be remedied. We had hoped that we had reached a stage of human development where 'right' could prevail without appeal to 'might,' that we might safely forget the sson of the past as inapplicable to a better present. But the perpetuation of injustice has recalled the lesson to memory. Fifty years of peaceful agitation has not enabled us to say: 'See how at last justice prevails without appeal to force.' And every day that justice is further denied is emphasising the lesson which will surely bear fruit, as unwelcome as

apparently unexpected, at no distant day. . . . "We are urged to think Imperially. What will our self-governing Dominions think of the way in which we are treating our women? Notably, are the ties which bind us to Australia and New Zealand likely to be strengthened by the events of the past six months? That our kinsmen are not indifferent spectators of these events their public official action

in relation to them clearly proves.

"Courage and self-sacrifice are the rarest virtues in the world. I am not justifying militant methods when I say that those qualities have been conspicuously displayed by those who have had recourse to militancy in this cause. Ex uno disce omnes. Dr. Ethel Smyth had been invited to represent woman as composer and conductor at the International Conference of Musical Composers which is even now assembling at Berlin. She was to conduct publicly one of her own compositions before one of the most inspiring audiences, from an artist's point of view, which will ever assemble. It was the opportunity of a life-time. She has chosen rather to do two months' hard labour in Holloway Gaol. And England can find no better use for such qualities than to imprison the bodies of those whom they inspire!

"Lives have been sacrificed in this cause, noble lives; health has been undermined, reason impaired. Can we stand this ruinous expenditure of the best treasures we possess? Is it not time to do justly?"

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

In a letter published in the Times on March 20, Lord Willoughby de Broke said :-

Mr. Sydney Buxton tells us that, although he is in favour of Woman Suffrage, he does not intend to vote for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, because he feels "convinced that to pass the Bill just now might appear to be, and would undoubtedly be claimed by the militants and their admirers to be, a justification for and an endorsement by the House of Commons of their methods and action. This would be a grave misfortune." Many hold the view that to legislate in the presence of violence is unwise. The contrary opinion was held by Lord Morley when he invited the House of Lords to sanction startling departures in the government of India in spite of assassination. But we will let that pass. It would, however, be interesting to know whether Mr. Buxton intends to vote for Home Rule for Ireland, and whether he does not think that to grant Home Rule to Ireland in the face of the continuance of organised terrorism in Galway might not be claimed by its authors " to be a justification for and an endorsement by the House of Commons of their methods and action."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Our Readers; especially members of the W.S.P.U., are again reminded that all communications intended for the W.S.P.U. should, in the absence of Mrs. Take, be Miss Kerr. Offices, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Prisoners' Secretary.

All information with regard to prisoners undergoing sentences can be had on application to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

Albert Hall, March 28.

Full details as to the tickets still available will be found on page 394. No more stewards are required,

Don't Forget.

The afternoon meeting at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday next, March 25, at 3.15 p.m., will be made the occasion of welcoming Mrs. Brackenbury and her two daughters, who are released from Holloway to-day. Those of our members who have friends who do not understand the real meaning of militancy are asked to bring them to the meeting. The Lady Isabel Hampden Margesson will also speak, and Mrs. Brailsford will be in the chair. There will be no Steinway Hall meeting on Thursday on account of the Albert Hall meeting.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Miss Christabel Pankhurst's unpublished article of March 8, entitled "A Challenge," is now ready as a leaflet, price 9d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000, post free. An extract from the speech of Mr. Hobbouse at Bristol has been reprinted in leaflet form, entitled "A Cabinet Minister's Advice," price 9d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000, post free. Our readers will be glad to know that Miss Elizabeth Robin's letter to the Times on March 7 is being reprinted as a leaflet, and will be ready shortly. All these can be had at the Woman's Press at above address.



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PROTEST OF NON-MILITANT SOCIETIES.

On Friday last the London Opera House was again packed with a large and enthusiastic audience at a meeting arranged by the Actresses' Franchise League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Church League for Woman's Suffrage, the National Political Reform League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League, and the Free Church League.

In addition to the speakers there were on the platform Mrs. Drew Anderson, Miss on the platform Mrs. Drew Anderson, Miss Beatrice Harraden (as a representative of the Writers' League), Miss Milne Farquharson, Sir Edward and Liady Busk, Miss Seymour Bennett, M.A., Miss Catherine and Miss N. Blackledge, and Miss O. Sullivan. The chairman announced receipt of letters regretting absence from Mrs. Despard, the Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Zangwill, and Mr. George Lansbury, M.P.

It was noticeable that every reference to militancy roused the great audience to fresh enthusiasm, and the mere mention of Mrs. Pankhurst's name received the ovation of the evening.

tion of the evening.

Sir Alfred Mond.

Sir Alfred Mond said they were met at a time when their great movement stood in a somewhat critical position, when many were taking an opportunity to retrace their steps and to go back on their pledges. He was glad to testify that, so far as he was concerned, and he thought, many of his colleagues in the House, they were neither faltering nor wavering in their support of a cause the justice of which must be acknowledged by every fair-minded person.

They were not present to criticise or to

They were not present to criticise or to They were not present to criticise or to condemn the tactics of any member of the great Suffragist army. (Applause.) Coercion had never been, nor could be, a remedy for injustice. Those who broke the law naturally made themselves amenable to its penalties. But the mere punishment of law-breaking was no answer to the just claim made on behalf of the millions of women in the country. (Cheers.)

The following resolution was then moved:

This meeting is of opinion that coercion is no remedy for any injustice, and calls upon the Government and the members of the House of Commons to place upon the Statute-book a measure for the enfranchisement of women, and so give to the womanhood of the country their just rights as citizens

their just rights as citizens. Miss Broadburst.

Miss Broadhurst said that there had been indignation because the vote was withheld, and this was proved by the recent acts that had been committed. They were not met, however, to condemn these acts or to approve them. They were met to help in making an attempt to deal with them. Wherever there was political disorder like that of the past few weeks, they knew that at the bottom of it there was some that at the bottom of it there was some gross injustice. (Cheers.) It was not true to say that these people did not know what they did. (Cheers.) Many of them had been known to her for years; some of the best and wisest women in the country were now in prison. ("Shame!") They asked that their question should be dealt with in a statesmanlike way. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lyon Blease.

Mr. W. Lyon Blease said every-one who knows anything of the suffragist movement and the resolute temper by which the women were animated knew that, whether he agreed with militant action or not, no amount of personal suffering was going to stop the discontent which was expressed in those outbreaks. Such things showed that the mere enforcement of the law, without remedies, was the most fatal and disastrous policy that any Government could adopt. It would do nothing to conciliate, but would only exasperate, embitter and inflame. (Cheers.)

Mr. Granville Barker.

Mr. Granville Barker thought that at a favoured the enfranchisement of women to come forward to testify to the faith that was in them. He had never been one to believe in the possibility of a sex war. During the last wear them had been sown in the suffrage- movement the seeds of a hatred between women as women and men hatred between women as women and men as men, and God forbid that such a curse should ever come. Every moment of delay was a source of great danger, even of disaster.

Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P.

The real question to be settled, said Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P. for Northampton, was whether or not the will of the people, as expressed on July 11 of last year in the House of Commons, should prevail. If a deliberate vote of the House of Commons deliberate vote of the House of Commons given in favour of woman suffrage was to count for nothing, it meant that the whole Constitutional struggle recently passed through was also to count for nothing. As for the recent outbreaks of violence—well, they deplored them as much as the Statesmen deplored those preceding the Reform Bill of 1832. But that did not prevent this Bill from becoming law. (Applause.) And if rioting and arson did not deter the reformers from doing their duty with regard to the enfranchisement of men in 1832, he did not think that the breaking of a few windows was going to deter them from doing their duty with the measure for the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

Mrs. Cecil Chapman said that whatever they might think of the Conciliation Bill, they had no doubt of the immense imperthey had no doubt of the immense impor-tance it was to their cause that this Bill should pass triumphantly through its second reading. (Applause.) Speaking of defections in the House of Commons, she said, "There is an immense difference be-tween principles that cost and principles that pay."

Sir Victor Horsley.

Sir Victor Horsley said that the move-ment was a matter of principle—of two principles—viz., the political equality of the sexes and justice. In the University of London they in Convocation claimed for women graduates, by ten votes to one, that they should have the franchise. That was the mere minimum of justice they could be given for the trouble they had taken in acquiring their degrees.

Lady Meyer. Lady Meyer said that one of the great features of the present situation was that the women were getting to know their friends. They recognised that the driving forces at the back of the Government were the members of the House of Commons, and behind these were the driving forces of the male electronic of the male electorate.

Miss Eva Moore.

Miss Eva Moore, speaking as a working woman, said that by reason of her profes-sion her earnings had never been cut down as the earnings of the poorer women had been cut down; but because she had had been cut down; but because sne nad nad butter on her bread it did not prevent her from seeing that the woman who was not so fortunate rarely got butter, and often very little bread. "The present position of women," she said, "is intolerable. I protest against a Government that goes on ignoring this great, this just, this vital question. With all vehemence I repeat, let the law-makers give us justice." (Cheers.)

Miss Abadam.

Miss Abadam followed, and said that the Government had rushed to help the miners because there were a million votes behind them. How had they treated the women? There had been a storm of in-vective hurled at the women. As to the loss of support through the recent outbreak, well—the suffrage tree had had a good shake, and the rotten fruit had dropped off. But they were winning. They were making for that spacious place:

Where the Curzons ceased from cursing And the Cromers crow no more.

Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

Mrs. Cavendish Bentinca.

Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck said they could not understand why women's enfranchisement could not now be brought about since three-fourths of the party now in power and two-thirds of the Cabinet were in favour of it. There was no such thing as a non-militant under heaven, except a sally fight floating on a summer see.

jelly fish floating on a summer sea.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION. Mrs. Drummond presided over a large and enthusiastic audience at the London Pavilion on Monday last. In the course of her remarks, she said that in spite of the fact that the leaders had been arrested, the work went on just the same as ever. Did the Government realise the responsibility they had shouldered? They had taken away the leaders; but the movement was like a hillside of heather on fire; the more you tried to stamp it out the more it blazed forth again. She spoke of the great debt the members of the W.S.P.U. owe their leaders—a debt that can only be paid by renewed energy and devotion.

Mr. Nevinson said that in various wars and revolutions in which he had been present an outpost was sometimes left without its officers. The command then fell on the subalterns or next in authority. During the past fortnight he had noticed that though the outpost and centre of work at Clement's Inn had been left without its officers, the soldiers had carried on the work of keeping the flag flying with perfect calmness. The people that the Union had lost were those Liberals who could only admire freedom from a distance; the party politicians, ever ready to declare against anything unpopular; the politicians who feared the vote, a fear largely augmented by their salaries of £400—salaries they had voted to themselves largely from the pockets of the working women of the country earning on an average 7s. 6d. per week; the people who were cowards and the people who joined only because they thought it was a fashionable movement. These had been lost, but their loss would not be felt. He protested in strong and forcible terms against the unequal sentences imposed on the suffragist prisoners, describing the treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst as callous, heartless, and brutal. The details of her treatment drew forth cries of indignation from the audi-ence. He concluded by saying that, speaking for himself entirely, and not on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, he considered there were two courses open to the Government —one, the boldest and wisest, was to include woman suffrage in their own Reform Bill; the other was to drop the Bill which no one wanted and carry through the Conciliation Bill.

ciliation Bill.

Miss Evelyn Sharp said there was a widespread feeling of unrest among women and an acknowledged feeling of unrest among industrial workers. The Government were dealing with the latter and trying to ignore the former, but the one could afford to be ignored as little as the other. After a brief survey of the history of woman's suffrage for the last forty-five years, Miss Sharp pointed out that the shelving of Woman Suffrage Bills time after time was, in itself, an excuse for outbreaks of discontent and exasperation.

A handful of shop-boys pursued their

A handful of shop-boys pursued their usual merry way, but every word of the speakers could be distinctly heard throughout the building, and as the deeper meanings of the cause were expounded the interrupters were reduced to the silence of interest, if not of shame.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, March 18, Mr. Lansbury asked if the London magistrates were advised by the Home Office or police authorities to sentence the prisoners connected with the recent suffrage disturbances to sentences of hard labour and not to discriminate between first and second offenders; and, if so, will the Home Secretary review the sentences, so as to apportion the punishment of these offenders in accordance with their individual guilt?

Mr. McKenna: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative. With regard to the second, I can only say that no case has been made out sufficient, in my opinion, to justify interference by means of the Prerogative of Mercy with any of the sentences passed on these offenders.

Mr. Lansbury asked how many of the prisoners connected with the recent suffrage disturbances have been sentenced to hard labour; how many have applied for special treatment as political prisoners, and in how many cases has such treatment

been allowed; and how many are in hospi-

tal and are being forcibly fed; and, if so, how many?

Mr. McKenna: The number sentenced to hard labour is seventy-six, who are not eligible for special treatment under Rule 243a. Forty-two prisoners have been sentenced to imprisonment in the second or third division, and of these thirty-three are receiving treatment under that rule. The others have either forfeited the privileges by misconduct or are in hospital. Of the whole number of suffragette prisoners, including those waiting trial, nine are in hospital. All the prisoners are taking their food voluntarily.

In the House of Commons on Monday, March 18, Mr. Watt asked the Home Secretary whether his attention has been called to a notice in a paper called Vorse ron Women asking for parcels and hampers of provisions to be sent to the prisoners now in Holloway; and, if so, will he say whether it is permitted to all prisoners there to receive luxuries from their friends outside, or whether this advantage is enoutside, or whether this advantage is en-

joyed only by female prisoners?

Mr. McKenna: All prisoners of both sexes, while on remand or awaiting trial, or treated under Rule 243a, are permitted to have food sent in for them from outside, but the prison authorities have power to regulate the extent to which this privilege shall be enjoyed, and care will be taken to prevent its being abused. Mr. Watt asked the right hon, gentle-

Mr. Watt asked the right hon gentleman whether his attention has been called to the fact that in several instances first offenders were, in the recent trials of window breakers at Bow Street, given longer periods of imprisonment than those who had previously been convicted for a similar offence; whether it is usual to deal more leniently with first offenders; whether this is entirely in the hands of the magistrate; and whether he will take any action in the matter?

mr. McKenna: The sentence to be passed on a convicted offender is entirely a matter for the discretion of the Court a matter for the discretion of the Court within the limits of the Statute under which the conviction takes place. I have no reason to doubt that, in the cases referred to, discretion had been exercised properly and with due regard to all the circumstances of the individual case. It is usual for an offender on his first continuous transfer the continuous transfer to the continuous transfer the continuous transfer that the continuous transfer the continuous transfer the continuous transfer transfer to the continuous transfer transfer to the continuous transfer the continuous transfer transfer to the continuous transfer viction to be treated more leniently than one who is guilty of repeated breaches of the law, but this is a rule that admits of numerous exceptions. No sufficient cause has been shown for interference or my part, but I should in ordinary course consider on its merits any representation made to me on behalf of any individual prisoner.

THE WOMAN ON THE KERB. By Katharine Susannah Pritchard.

I long for the inspiration of a Shakespeare, a Milton, a Shelley, when I see them—the street-sellers of Votes for Women. I want to write an ode or a sonnet, firey, compelling enthusiasm, in their honour. Alas, the weary muse and jibbing nib of a journalistic hack!

Neither halting words, shy nods, nor stray comradely smiles of greeting do they value as much as pennies for papers—pence for the Cause, they say. But I never see them that I do not reverence them and pass on humiliated by their heroism. Always the sighing thought is: "Less than the dust beneath their chariet wheels"—even though their chariet wheels be only those of a two-horse hackney coach or a motor omnibus.

Of all the women workers in the women's movement, none, it seems to me, are more

movement, none, it seems to me, are more worthy of homage, more truly heroic, than the street-sellers. Theirs is the brave and

worthy of homage, more truly heroic, than
the street-sellers. Theirs is the brave and
patient drudgery.
And so I bow to the woman who stands
on the kerb. I have seen her in all
weathers, in the stifling heat of sun-bright
August days, in the biting winter winds,
when the snow was on the ground; watched

her straightening her back, changing feet

wearily; heard her crying, cheerily always,
"Votes ron Women!"

The human tide passes her by, with
contemptuous looks and laughter sometimes. But the men and women who stare and laugh contemptuously do not know that she is standing there for them, fighting a fight for them, bearing the brunt of scornful usage in order that the world may be a better place for them and their children to live in. They do not realise that women are fighting for the suffrage of women on the same terms as men because they believe it will tell for the benefit of the whole people, men as well as women, generations yet unborn. The tide is inclined to eddy more sympathetically round the woman who stands on the kerb than it used to. At first she was the butt of many witticisms.

My heroine does not pose as a martyr. But a few days ago I saw a man with the air of an old world cavalier bare his head as though he had seen a saint when he saw her standing on the edge of a busy thoroughfare, her purple and green posters over her shoulders and a sheaf of papers

> Miss Newstead . Mrs. Penn-Gaskell...

Mrs. H. M. Young ..

Previously acknowledged 357

THE RECURRING PROUGHT FROM INSIDE

By a Prisoner.
Out of the walls of Holloway
Goes up to heaven a bitter cry;
A cry that rests nor night nor day...
This is the curse of Holloway;

Out of the walls of Holloway A cry from creatures trapped in pain; Low sobs more sad than words can say. This is the curse of Holloway.

Out of the walls of Holloway, When night has added gloom to gloom, The walls take up the human lay— This is the curse of Holloway.

Out of the walls of Holloway, Press anguish, loneliness, despair, The sighs and tears of yesterday— This is the curse of Holloway.

Out of the walls of Holloway Now pass some spirits touched with fire, Who all are vowed to wipe away The ancient curse of Holloway.

Out of the walls of Holloway We'll build a temple unto Hope— And end shall come, please God, some day, To the old curse of Holloway.

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AT THE SESSIONS.

March 13th, 1912.

In last week's issue we were only able to give the result of the first day's trials of the Suffragette prisoners at the Sessions. Below will be found a report of the cases. We understand that further ses are postponed till next week. Mr. Travers Humphreys appeared for the prosecution, Mr. Blanco White appeared for the defence. Mr. Phillips, whose name occurs in the report, is stated to be an expert in plate-glass values.

The first case was that of MABEL DE ROXE, who was charged with wanton and wilful destruction of private property.

The Counsel for the Prosecution.

That, said counsel, was an offence against the law of every civilised state, and he thought he would be agreed with when he said that it would be impossible for persons to live in a civilised state, more particularly in such a place as London, unless it were an offence, and a serious offence. It was an offence against the law; private property was protected by statute, and upon the amount of the damage depended the seriousness of the offence. It was directed by Act of Parliament that certain penalties might be inflicted by a court of summary jurisdiction, commonly known as a police court, where the amount of damage did not exceed £5. Where it exceeded £5 the matter must be determined ceeded £5 the matter must be determined by a court of sessions or assize, and by a jury; and more serious consequences might ensue to a person who committed damage over £5 than to a person who committed damage to a smaller amount. Section 51 of the Malicious Damage to Property Act of 1861 declared that whosoever should unlawfully and maliciously commit any damage, injury, or spoil to or upon any real or personal property whatever, whether of a public or private nature, for which no special punishment was directed, if of an amount exceeding £5, should which no special punishment was directed, if of an amount exceeding £5, should be guilty of a misdemeanour. The word "maliciously" in that section, he thought he might say, subject to the ruling of the judge, need not trouble them at all, because it merely meant that the damage must be done unlawfully and without any real excuse, and there could be no question of lawful excuse in the acts of a person who deliberately broke somebody else's window. There was no such thing known to the law as a lawbroke somebody else's window. There was no such thing known to the law as a lawful excuse for such a thing, and therefore if they were satisfied that the defendant unlawfully in each instance broke a large plate-glass window over £5, in his submission she would be guilty of the offence or offences. The motives in her mind, counsel continued the reason why she comsel continued, the reason why she com-mitted the offence, need not trouble them. It was quite immaterial; it did not matter in the least whether she did it because she desired to air some grievance, or did not know what she was doing, or was a very foolish person. If she did the things she was charged with, then he submitted that she was guilty upon this indictment. So long as it was over £5 it was quite immaterial whether it was £5 ls. or more.

Counsel proceeded to give details of this particular instance, when three windows at 152-153, Strand, 154, Strand, and 156, Strand, all over £5 value, were broken. The evidence of Alexander Hills, an errand boy, and of Charles Lewis, from 152 and 153, Strand, was taken. Constable 153, Strand, was taken. Constable Thomas Hills said he took the defendant into custody from the witness Hills, who had detained her. Charged with the three offences, she said, "I did not think I had broken so many." Mr. Phillips estimated the total value at £47.

Counsel for the Defence.

Mr. Blanco White then addressed the jury. In this particular case, he said, the evidence was very clear; but he wanted to evidence was very clear; but he wanted to say that there were some cases which he proposed to dispute, and he knew that they would not let their minds get into what he might call a clockwork habit of turning out convictions one after another, assuming that all the defendants were guilty, because the circumstances of the night were different to those of a previous occasion when glass was broken. On that occasion everything was very ready, with a police constable at every window; that was not what they had here, because these breakages, as he dared say was common knowledge, were rather unexpected, and therefore they must expect, in a certain number of cases, mistakes to be made as to the people who broke the windows, and for innocent people to be accused. He for innocent people to be accused. He would submit to them in a few cases that that had happened, and he therefore asked them to judge each case, as it came before them, on its merits, and not to assume that because the last defendant had been guilty, this particular defendant was guilty too. Secondly, he knew they would not import any prejudice into the matter.

The Point of View.

He could not ignore the fact that they probably all read the daily papers, and and read some very harsh things about the ladies before them. They had seen

suggestions for increasing the punishment and for doing other things to make it uncomfortable, but he knew that when they came there in a judicial capacity they would forget all that. "You will remember," he went on, "that they have their point of view. The point of view of the papers, of course, is that here is wanton damage, for which the readers of that paper will rightly be very indignant. The point of view of the ladies was that they had no power in the government of the country, and that government must rest on the consent of the governed." Breaking windows was a convenient way of drawing attention to the fact that they were discontented, a convenient way and harmless way, except in the way in which the particular damage was concerned. What they wanted to do was some act which should draw the attention of the other sex to the fact that their sex was discontented at having no part in the government of the country. Now of course, if they went to extreme emough measures, he supposed, any body of citizens could make government impossible. From their point of view, it was no good doing peaceable things, because they got no notice, and no one paid any attention, and therefore they selected breaking windows on the ground that it could not de any damage to life or limb. "If you put a neat little hammer in a little bag, and go up to a window and tap it, everybody's attention will be drawn to the crack, and therefore public attention will be given to it." Whether it was a right or wrong point of view, they were entitled to the respect that any body of people were who had respect for their convictions. It was not pleasant to be sentenced to serious terms of hard labour. They suffered that, and they were deserving of that respect.

Judge's Address to Jury.

Judge Wallace, addressing the jury, said: "The defendant is charged under section 51 with unlawfully and maliciously section 51 with unlawfully and maliciously committing damage to an extent exceeding £5. Now, you need not discuss at all the motives which inspired the defendant to do this act. We have nothing to do with the making of the law; we are here to administer the law and to see that it is carried out, and if you are of opinion that the evidence shows that the defendant wilfully have these windows then contlar the evidence shows that the defendant wilfully broke these windows, then, gentlemen, it is your duty to act accordingly. Of course, in each case, you will have the greatest respect for what the learned counsel has said. Each defendant is being separately tried. The evidence in each case will be properly weighed by the jury, and I am perfectly certain that no prejudice will allow you in any degree to swerve from the evidence. You will deal with it on its merits."

with it on its merits."

The jury brought in a verdict of guilty.

The Judge, addressing the defendant, said: "You have been convicted on the clearest and most unmistakable evidence of clearest and most unmistakable evidence of the offence charged in the indictment. Whilst it is right that everyone should agitate for any change in the law that they please, they must carry on their agitation within the boundaries that the law allows, but no one is allowed, for the sake of mak-ing a protest, to break the law, otherwise government would be absolutely impossible and life would be intolerable, and I say government would be absolutely impossible and life would be intolerable, and I say with very great regret (I am not discussing at all what your motives were, I am perfectly willing to accept what your learned counsel has said about your wishing to make a public protest) that this cannot be allowed in this form. You have been guilty not merely, according to the evidence, of breaking one window, but you have been found guilty in three cases, and, much as I regret the position in which you stand here to-day, simply administering stand here to-day, simply administering the law it is my duty to pass upon you a sentence of four months' imprisonment." MISS MARTHA ELEANOR ADAMS

was sentenced to four months for breaking two windows at 389, Strand, the establish-ment of Messrs. Reeve and Sons, the value of which was given by Mr. Alexander Phil-lips as being £6 3s.

Miss Charlotte Marsh.

Miss Charlotte Marsh came next. The constable said he saw her strike the window of 39, Strand, breaking it. The salesman at 39 said one window was broken. Crossexamined by Miss Marsh, he said the window had been replaced by the Insurance Company. Mr. Phillips gave the value as

Miss Marsh then addressed the jury, and said: "I should like to begin by saying that Mrs. Collier, who will shortly take my place here in the dock, is charged with breaking a window at No. 33, Strand. I wish to say that she did not break that window, and that I did it myself. Now you have been told that the women who are being brought before you to-day are the dupes of others. I wish to say, speaking for myself, that what I did on March 1 I did entirely on my own responsibility. I did it because my intelligence told me that a protest was necessary, and because my conscience made me take part in that protest. I should like to remind you that the movement for Votes for Women has been going on for over forty years, that we have tried every means in our power in

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all cases the value is quite exceptional as I

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what is called a constitutional way, by means of meetings, by speeches, and so on, to force the Government to deal with this question, but through our lack of political question, but through our lack of political power the Government has taken practically no notice of us, and on every possible occasion has blocked the way to a Woman Suffrage Bill. Now we have found in history that when men fought for the vote they found it necessary to resort to very violent tactics, and although we women do not want to have to do the things which men did, we felt that it was necessary for us to bring pressure to bear upon the Government, and as we have not the constitutional weapon of the vote we felt that we must draw attention to the grievances which we were suffering from grievances which we were suffering from by having this militant demonstration on March 1. Now I am sure you recognise that the women who have appeared in this court to-day are not women who under ordinary circumstances would have been here at all. We are women who, most of ns, have had things made easy for us all our lives, and it is because we feel that there are thousands and millions of women in the country to-day who, because of the circumstances under which they live, have never really had a proper chance in life, that we have taken part in this militant protest. We feel that this question is a very urgent one, because we believe that the point of view of the women of the country is absolutely necessary if we are to get just legislation, and therefore I think you will agree with me that, when women after all are half the population, it is only right that they should have a say in what the law that they should have a say in what the law that they have to obey shall be. Now we want to get votes because we want to secure better conditions for the people of the country, and we are prepared to go just as far as may be necessary to attain that end. We don't want to go any further than we have gone up to now, but should it be necessary we are prepared to in the country to-day further than we have gone up to now, but should it be necessary we are prepared to do so. I wish to say that repressive measures will not prove any good. This movement has gone on, as you know, for a period of about six years, and during that time over a thousand women have been to prison. Many of them have been there more than once. I myself have had the privilege of going to prison twice, and I can say to you that I am prepred to go again and again, and no matter how long a sentence I may get, if when I come out again I find that the Government has not carried the Votes for Women Bill into law I shall be ready to take my place and to go on what we call active service again. You see we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause, and because we are fighting for a just cause.

ing to secure the vote in order to make things better for other people, we are ready to make sacrifices in order to win it. Now I should like to say in conclusion that the Government is entirely responsible for anything that the women have done. If the Government had carried the Votes for Women Bill into law, they know as well as we do that the women would not have adopted militant tactics any longer; the justification for militant tactics would be taken away. It is simply on account of our voteless position, because we are unable to bring pressure to bear upon the Government that we have resorted to that during the last few years.

The Judge: "Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner is charged with breaking this

The Judge: "Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner is charged with breaking this window at No. 39, Strand, and, gentlemen, I only want to say this, that we have nothing to do with, and I am quite sure that you realise that we have nothing whatever to do with the motives which inspire these acts at all. As I said before, we are simply here to administer the law and to see that the law is carried out. Many of us may have very strong views upon a particular subject, but whatever our sympathies and views may be, it is for us to see that the law is carried out. It would be impossible in any civilised country to allow the law to be broken. If you are satisfied with the evidence that the de-fendant broke that window it is for you to

give your verdict accordingly."

The jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of six months' imprisonment was passed.

MRS. HELEN COLLIER.—The contable said he care her break the mindow of

MRS. HELEN COLLIER.—The constable said he saw her break the window of No. 33, Strand. When charged she said, "I did not, it was another window altogether." Mr. Phillips said the value was £11 lfs. The jury, after retiring for a short time, gave a verdict of guilty, and a sentence of four months' imprisonment was passed. At the end of the cases Mr. Blanco White said that Mrs. Collier was willing to be bound over, and she was brought in again and gave an undertaking not to offend again for twelve months.

MISS AMY MAUD HICKS was indicted for breaking a window at the offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 62 to 65, Charing Cross.

Albert James Ward, of 32, Cockspun Street, said he saw her break the window, William Barton, housekeeper at the C.P.R., Co., said there was a window broken at their premises on March 1. The value was given by Mr. Phillips as £18.

Miss Hicks, addressing the jury, said a Gentlemen, you will realize that it is a grave matter for a charge such as this to be brought against one like myself who recognises thoroughly the value of law and

order in any civilised country and whose every natural feeling would be opposed to taking such a step as that with which I taking such a step as that with which I am charged, on any light or frivolous grounds; but I must give it to you as my deliberate conviction, based on long and careful thought, that some such action as that of which I and other women are accused to day was absolutely necessary if we were to bring before the country any idea of the ecriousness of this agitation of ours for the enfranchisement of women. I do not even propose to bring before you to-day arguments to prove the justice of our cause, because I think, gentlemen, it is generally admitted. I do not even propose to speak to you of the urgent need that this demand of ours should be granted; but I think it is essential for the proper but I think it is essential for the proper understanding of this case that you should realise (as I believe you have heard certain remarks to this effect) that we have not but I think it is essential for the proper understanding of this case, that you should realise (as I believe you have heard certain remarks to this effect) that we have not neglected any of the means of constitutional agitation that are in the hands of a voteless class. Let me recall to you that for over forty years an agitation has gone on in this country for this reform, growing to a strength and immensity such as has never been witnessed in the case of any previous franchise agitation, and yet even all this has not been enough to bring us victory and to convince politicians of the seriousness of the question. More than that, I would remind you that the position is an even more serious one for us to-day than it has been before. We are faced with a very serious proposal, the proposal of the present Government to extend the rights of franchise to every man in the country, while they neglect the claims of every and any woman. Why de they feel able to ignore us in this way? We had some remarks the other day from a Cabinet Minister which express very well what I think are not only his opinion on the matter, but an opinion which has been very generally held. Mr. 'Hobbouse, speaking at Bristol, said that in the case of the women's suffrage agitation there had not been the popular demand shown as it was in the case of the men by the builing up of the Hyde Park railings. There you have the difficulties with which we were confronted. This long constitutional agitation of ours, the thousands and tens of thousands of meetings that we have held up and down the country, the support of over 130 town councils who have urged this reform by resolutions, the magnificent demonstrations, processions, and meetings which have been the wonder of the civilised world—all these things, which have been evidence for anyone who had eyes to see of the seriousness of our demand, were to count for nothing compared with the fact that we have not been a menace to law and order! Women, they felt, would never be such a menace and therefore they

The jury gave a verdict of guilty. The judge, in sentencing the defendant, said it was a very painful duty for anyone administering the law to pass sentence upon women who were sincere in their motives, but they were there to administer the law, and to see that the law was carried out for the good of the community, and therefore he was very sorry, but he must pass a sentence of four months' imprisonment.

Mrs. Alice Singer who broke three panes.

Mrs. Alice Singer, who broke three panes of glass at the Post Office, 447, Strand (value given as £14), said: "I only wish to say I did it as a political protest. I admit I did it, but not for malice. I plead not guilty to malice." On giving an undertaking that she would not be guilty of that conduct again for twelve-months, she was released

Miss Laura Duval was indicted for having broken a window at the London and North-Western Railway Company's office, 452, Strand (value given as £9 5s.). She said: "I wish to say that what I did I did entirely on my own responsibility, and not, as the jury would infer, as the dupe of others. I did it because I want the same political rights as my brothers enjoy to-day."

The judge asked her whether she would be willing to give up breaking the law. Miss Duval said: "No, certainly not. It is the only thing we can do. We cannot get redress in any other way." She was sentenced to four months' imprisonment.

Miss Edith Stacey was also sentenced to four months' imprisonment for breaking two windows in Cookspur Street (value £20 and £7 4c.).

The last case was that of Miss Clara

The last case was that of Miss Clara Lambert, who was sentenced to four months imprisonment for breaking a win-dow at Messrs. Smith's, jewellers, Strand. She left the dock saying, "I shall only leave Holloway more determined than aver."

"CHEAP MARTYRDOM" AGAIN.

The Times is behind the times in regard to its ideas and principles, but it might at least be up-to-date in its facts. It seems to be totally ignorant of the heavy penalties inflicted in the past upon militant Suffragists, and is labouring under the delusion that it is only since March 1 that the Courts have imposed long sentences of imprisonment. In a recent issue the Times says:—

Cheap martyrdom is no doubt fascinating to certain hysterical temperaments, and until a week ago the martyrdom wooed by the extreme suffragists was in most instances extremely cheap. The magistrates have shown that it is not going to be so cheap in future, and the Sessions may teach the same lesson in an even more pointed fashion. It does not at all follow that because there were plenty of women ready to buy notoriety by incurring illusory sentences, there will also be plenty of women ready te suffer two months' hard labour or such graver penalties as the Courte may now inflict.

We would remained our contemporary that

We would remind our contemporary that We would remind our contemporary that numbers of women have in the past suffered three months' imprisonment as common criminals in consequence of having attempted to gain entrance into the House of Commons for the purpose of interviewing a reluctant Prime Minister, and that when the stones were thrown on March 1 and 4. Miss Emily Davison was even then undergoing a sentence of six months' imprisonment. Therefore, to talk of "illusory sentences" having been the rule hitherto is inaccurate.

AT BOW STREET.

Before the hearing of the case against the leaders of the W.S.P.U. and Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Louisa Field was charged. Constable George Hines said that at 5.30 on March 1 he was on duty at Marlborough Street Police Station. The prisoner was brought there by George Baker, who said in her presence that she had broken windows in Regent Street, at Messrs. Liberty's and Messrs. Lewis's. George Baker, assistant stage manager of a travelling theatrical company, said he saw the defendant hit the window with a hammer at Maison Lewis, then she struck two windows at Liberty's, breaking both. Thomas Lewis, sales ledger clerk, at Maison Lewis, said the damage there was £7 10s. Mr. Hendley, staff superintendent at Messrs. Liberty and Co.'s, said their windows were broken at 212 and 214, Regent Street, the damage being £20. The defendant was committed for trial.

RELIGIOUS LEAGUES' DEMONSTRATION.

RELIGIOUS LEAGUES' DEMONSTRATION.

The procession, jointly organised by the Church, Free Church League, and the Ethical Societies for Women's Suffrage made quite an imposing array of banners and celour. Considerably over 1,000 people took part, and we are informed by the Church League that many more of their members would have been present had they not been prevented from reaching London in time, owing to the curtainment of trains due to the coal strike. The Church League, headed by a band playing militant hymn tunes, proceeded to Westminster Abbey, where members attended the usual atternoon service. The Free Church League and the Ethical Societies held a well attended and sympathetic meeting in Trafalgar Square.

The Rev. Fleming Williams, who presided, emphasised the fact that they were not taking part in the meeting from any spirit of defiance. They were sincerely anxious not to irritate those who were opposed to them, but wished to put before their fellow countrymen the case for the enfranchisement of women as it appeared to religious people. If the men of Eng-

enfranchisement of women as it appeared to religious people. If the men of England could only see this cause as they saw it they would be fair and just in their treatment of women. He moved the following resolution:

"That this meeting, convinced alike on grounds of justice and expediency that the concession of the franchise to women is

concession of the franchise to women is inevitable, urges the Government and the Heuse of Commons to end the present the Heuse of Commons to end the present uncertainty and unrest by granting the vote to women without further delay, and further that the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer be respectfully asked to receive a deputation appointed by the organised religious bodies in order to place before them the religious attitude which we take up on the right of women's full citizenship."

Mrs. Strickland (Chairman of the Executive) seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mrs. Bonwick, the Rev. E. J. Barson, and others, and finally adopted with seven dissentients.

The speakers at the Ethical Societies' platform included Mr. G. E. O'Dell, Mrs. Tiedeman, Mr. Harry Snell, and others.

Miss Canning asks us to say that a joint demonstration of the Church, Roman Catholic, and Free Church Leagues will be held shortly in Trafalgar Square.

Votes for Women had a brisk sale.

NOTES.

In Vores for Women for March 15, page 382, Miss Harrison should obviously have been Mrs. Harrison.

Miss Janie Allan's name was omitted from the list of those committed for trial.

Miss Elsie Bartlett, one of the prisoners, is anxious about an embroidery and fancy needlework class for the Girls' Guild of Good Life at Hoxton Hall, Tuesdays, 8—10 p.m. Will anyone take her place?

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PRISONERS' HAMPERS.

Members and friends have responded quickly and generously to the appeal for contributions for the Prisoners' Hampers. Owing to this splendid co-operation, Mrs. Herbert Littlejolm has been able to des-Herbert Littlejohn has been able to despatch several hampers to Holloway. The following list is typical of the way in which money has poured in. Gratefully acknowledged:—Mrs. Gillies, 5s.; Mrs. Lewis, £1; Anon., A Mark of Sincerest Sympathy, £1; Nurse F. M. Wills, 2s. 6d.; Misses Vine and Tarrant, 10s.; Miss A. Bulan, 5s.; Mrs. Strickland, 5s.; Miss Faulkner, 5s.; Mrs. Wright, 10s.; Miss E. A. Sheppard, 5s.; Miss M. Williams, 10s.; The Misses Adams, 5s.; Two Sympathisers, 5s.; Miss Conran, £1: Miss A. N. Roff, 10s.; Miss A. M. Williams, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Cobb, 10s.; Mrs. Brooks, Miss Brooks, Mrs. Prince, and Maid, 5s.; Mrs. Thompson, £2; Miss Alice Montgomery, £2 2s.; Miss E. Redfern, 2s. 6d.; Helenburgh Members, £1; Miss A. Newton, 2s. 6d.; Misses Beck, 10s.; Miss S. C. Outran, £1. One contributor writes:—

I am sending you a small donation towards the hampers you are sending in to the W.S.P.U. prisoners. My heart beats in tune with theirs, although I am a member of another W.S. Union. I take Vorzs for Women regularly and am proud to stand up for the "militants" always. I feel that I must reach them definitely in some way, so please make use of this P.O. for 5a.

Scene: The street in front of Messra, Robinson and Crusce's plate-glass window. There is a sudden crash as Percy saunters by; and he turns round hastily and sees to his horror that the lady with the hammer is an acquaintance of his.

Percy (nervous, but always the gentleman): "Oh—er—it's Miss Jones!

Er—good morning. . . . Can I—er—get you a—a—policeman or anything?"—Punch.

A very successful sale for the funds of the International Congress for Woman-Suffrage was held at Buda-Pesth, the Municipal Council giving a subsidy of 5,000 france (£200).

A special series of drawing-room meetings is being arranged by Mrs. Mansel, who will be glad if offers are sent to her at 4, Clement's Inn.

NURSE PITFIELD.

The case of Nurse Pitfield was heard at the Central Criminal Court on Tuesday, March 19. She was indicted for attempt-ing to set fire to the General Post Office. The Recorder detailed the accusation, and added: "The acts of these women are scarcely consistent with sanity, but at the salrey consistent with salrey, but at the same time the law must be respected and the property of His Maiesty's subjects must also be protected. Under those circumstances you must find a true bill against her and leave the matter to be dealt with in the ordinary course of the law.

The sentence was six months in the second division.

WHERE CHRISTABEL IS.

Where is Christabel, oh, where? On the earth or in the air?

Lurks she in some shadowy dell,

Meet for sportive Ariel?

Or doth she, mounting on the breeze,
Guide an aeroplane with ease? Or linger in some jewelled mine, Where the silent crystals shine? Sprites, above, below that dwell, Tell me, where is Christabel?

Yoke the lightning, ride the wind, Christabel you shall not find. Watch the Strand and guard the gate; By quay and station stand and wait; Tap the telephone as well; Search in vain for Christabel, Whom love and loyalty shall guard, Stronger yet than Scotland Yard. Till she wills it, who can tell, Where abideth Christabel?

Where the voice of truth is heard Where the voice of truth is heard Ringing in the spoken word;
Where injustice, throned on high,
Pales before the proven lie;
Where the naked sword of right,
Cloaked and veiled wrong doth smite;
The mask from falsehood's face is torn,
Treachery scathed with righteous scorn;
Where is rung oppression's knell,
There, oh, there, is Christabel

And in days that are to be,
When each child of man is free;
And the folk the story tell
Of the conflict that befell,
When the human rights they own
Were by woman champion won,
Who 'gainst mighty odds had fought,
And a people's freedom wrought,
In the nation's heart shall dwell,
Queen enthroned, Christabel 1

AT STEINWAY HALL

Last Thursday's meeting at the Steinway Hall was but another instance of how indomitable is the spirit of the militant movement. Every seat in the half was taken, and numbers of strangers thronged the doorways. That they had come out of real interest was evident, for not one jarring note was heard throughout the whole meeting. Miss Douglas, Smith presided, and said that to those who feared the cause had been put back by recent militant action, the fact that new members were coming forward to join the movement was sufficient answer. One of the most striking things in the movement during the past had been the wonderful self-restraint of the women. The coal strike was an object lesson in cant and hypocrisy; there was no talk of arresting the leaders of the miners and seizing their funds for extensive damage, such as was done in Wales last year. This leniency was not shown because the Government was particularly fond of the miners, but because of the miners' votes.

Mrs. Brailsford, who had a rousing and enthusiastic reception, said she had had the privilege that day of hearing certain little bits of news that had come straight from that great centre of clear thinking and higher thought, the House of Com-mons. "Anti-Suffragists in the House of Commons," she said, "are, I think, of the ostrich breed. Why don't they come to see our meetings? We have during the past week held three enormous metings with perfect success, and the country is amazed, and our enemies, although they say they are jubilant, are really paralysed and angry by the fact that we are able, although deprived of our splendid leaders for the moment, to go on with our meetings moment, to go on with our meetings and organisation. Sending women to prison is not going to stop the cause, and," said the speaker in ringing tones, "we defy the Government, we defy the present authorities, we defy all the forces of reaction and repression," a sentiment which found an echo in every heart, to judge by the great response it evoked. "They may imprison our women in cells in Holloway, but they cannot possibly imprison their but they cannot possibly imprison their

Mr. Joseph Clayton said the most wonderful thing about this movement was not so much its self-sacrifice as its persistence. No political movement for the past hundred years had shown the same persistence. Over and over again the movements of men had been killed and brought to life men had been killed and brought to life again; but this movement, although killed again by the newspapers, although over and over again its bright spirits had been flung into prison, and its leaders taken from it, still went on just as enthusiastically. This was quite a new thing in English politics. This was the greatest movement in English national history. Men vacillated and were indifferent. greatest movement in English national history. Men vacillated and were indifferent, but women would bring persistence, courage, determination, and faith, and these were the qualities which were needed, and which were only possessed by the Women's Social and Political Union. The hysterical outburst of men during the past couple of weeks had shown how unfit they were to deal with serious questions. The opposition of these men was not to be feared; neither was the opposition of the shop boy or the medical student; but the opposition that did count politically was of the men in the House of Commons, men like Sir William Byles, who had never been of any use to any English movement, and men like Mr. Banbury, chairman of the Anti-Suffrage League, who voted against the Bill to prevent the White Slave Traffic. The most serious opposition to Woman The most serious opposition to Woman Suffrage came from men who wanted to maintain that traffic. These were the men who had the sense to see that there was something in the women's movement that would threaten their selfish pleasures, and just because the opposition was of that disreputable kind there was nothing too had that it would not attempt. Posterity would show that the women of the W.S.P.U. at the beginning of the twentieth century carried this question to a successful issue. Mr. Clayton's magnificent address concluded with the words: "It is the people with vision who will bring the people towards their promised land, while the crowd goes on with its daily work. If your leaders are great, it is because of the greatness of your movement; if your leaders are distinguished it is because your movement is distinguished. who had the sense to see that there was is because your movement is distinguished. It is the greatness of your cause that has drawn out the greatness of your leaders."

WHAT ABOUT NOTTINGHAM CASTLE?

The extension of the franchise in the case of men required strong agitation, but it never took so wild and wanton and wicked a form as that which was displayed in the Metropolis last week-end.—

Dundee Courier, March 4.

AN ALERT PAPER SELLER.

Shopper (loudly to friend): "And what hall we do next?"
Paper Seller: "Buy this week's Vorse;

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

JUST SO!

In the course of a note on the recent militant outbreak and its probable effect on the majority for the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, the Nation says, in speaking of the Women's Social and Political Umon:—"They would, we suppose, take a Government Suffrage Bill, but they know that this is impossible. It is doubtful if the Cabinet any longer shows a majority for the suffrage, and advocacy of their cause has been weakened on both sides of the House of Commons. But if the suffrage can be saved, it ought to be saved. Who desires another year of violence and heat?" The italics are ours.

THE NEW PEPYS.

The following appears in Truth:—
To the club, where all the talk is of the clusive Christabel and distinct authenthe clusive Christabel and distinct authentick versions I heard of her present place of hiding; to wit, that she (i.) is disguised in a parlour-mayd's cap and apron at a house in Frognal Gardens, Hampsted; (ii.) have crost the Channel to Dieppe in the habit of a Little Sister of the Poor, with badge, beads and breviary all compleat; (iii.) have taken temporary advantage of a misleading Cliny-Re cost and skirt and (iii.) have taken temporary advantage of a misleading Glory-Be coat and skirt and Hallelujah bonnet, and now singing Sankey's hymns at a Salvation Army mission in the Borough; (iv.) have shorn her head and taken service in Harley Street as a buttons; (v.) is soping chinns as lather-boy at a penny barber's in Wapping; (vi.) have been amuggled away to Liverpool in a poultry crate, labelled, "Live ducks, with care—this side up"; (vii.) is still lying low at Clement's Inn, and do creep into hiding, upon the first alarm, behind the mopps, brooms, and payls in the house-maid's cupboard under the back-stairs. All which versions, nevertheless, Admiral Topwhich versions, nevertheless, Admiral Topper do blow upon with scornful riducule; he standing to it that she is the man-beggar with the crutches whom he saw hopping on one leg yesterday near the Mansion House, but had vanished ere he could cross over to give her into custody. Soe betwirt them all what is a playn man to believe?

Many Members of Parliament are behaving rather like babies on the question of women's suffrage. Sir W. P. Byles, for instance, makes a nice, chubby Parliamentary baby. The militants are charged with being illogical. Having a grievance with the Government, we are told, they ventilate it by smashing the windows of innocent shopkeepers in the Strand. The method is far from being logical or ideal, but what shall be said of M.P.'s who go back on their professions of political faith because a few women, driven desperate by because a few women, driven desperate by a sense of wrong and slow-footed justice, resort to violent and unconstitutional methods of redress? These members justify every charge of insincerity levelled against them. Some of those who voted for the enfranchisement of women as a pious expression of opinion had no desire to see it established as a practical reality. They had decided to vote against it in the present session, and were looking round for some covering to hide their political shame. They have found a covering in the window-smashing episodes. They know so little of the inner situation that know so little of the inner situation that they imagine they will be punishing the W.S.P.U. by voting against the Conciliation Bill. Mr. J. S. Higham, M.P., says that as a result of recent happenings "the chance of women's suffrage being carried this year either by the Conciliation Bill or by an amendment inserted in the Government's Franchise Bill is exceedingly remote." We do not know whether the remote." We do not know whether the Government desire to drive all the women of the country into the militant camp, but certainly they will go far in this direction by continuing to delay and juggle with the question of political freedom for women. To grant a measure of justice would surely be a simpler and better way than to exasperate women into acts of lawlessness and recklessness and then sen-tence them to long terms of hard labour.— Labour Leader, March 15.

"WHAT IS SAUCE FOR THE COOSE . . We quote the following letter from the "Daily Mail": -

"In your issue of March 7 we read that a number of women have been arrested on warrants charged with conspiracy to com-

warrants charged with 'conspiracy to commit wilful damage to property.'

"In the same issue, under the heading of 'Strikers' Terrorism,' you state that hundreds of miners at Tarbran Colliery, in Midlothian, armed with sticks, waited at the pithead for the men working underground, and threatened if they did not cease work they would be thrown into Cobbinshaw Loch, and they were forced to return home.

return home.

"Now, this is a gross offence against the liberty of the subject, and a far more serious crime than any attack on private serious crime than any attack on private property and smashing of windows; yet I do not see any trace of the Treasury having issued warrants against these ruffians. I presume the reason is that the miners have votes and the women have not, and that the law is to be enforced against the non-voter, while the voter can defy it with impunity.

"F. T. TRISTRAM, J.P., co. Durham."

"Haverton Hill, Middlesbrough."

OUR POST BOX.

CONGRATULATIONS!

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I don't know who is responsible for this week's Votes for Women, but I feel I must write and congratulate you on your splendid achievement. It is tip-top. I am going to take six extra copies every week and give them to my tradesmen.—Faithfully yours,

(Mrs.) Beatrice Hartley.

Dear Editors,—Hearty congratulations upon and thanks for the beautiful supplement to your issue of this week. I have promptly sent it to the framers to deal with and shall always treasure it. I should delight to be at the March 28 meeting, but fear I cannot, being rushed with work. You will be doing, as you are now doing, national service of another sort, with world-wide results of beneficent and lasting influence. Sursum Cords!—Yours,

WM. PENN STRINGER. 39, Aldermanbury, E.C.

To the Editors of Votes FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—Since your militant tac-tics have begun I have listened with great interest to your speakers. They are lighting the cause nebly. I am but a young man of twenty—an undergraduate of Edinburgh University. My time for lighting in some great cause for liberty has not yet come. Assuredly it will some day; and; believe me, I shall find no little inspiration in the communications are recovered. in the enormous sacrifices you wemen have made in your noble endeavours to obtain

political emancipation.

I get your Votes for Women regularly.
Your supplement for this week must be a source of great encouragement to the workers in your cause. Among my friends I discuss the movement, and, like any rational lover of liberty, I heartily endorse your brave, militant tactics. Please accept my deepest sympathy for your cause accept my deepest sympathy for your cause and my indignation at your treatment.— Yours, &c.,

CLEM. JEFFERY.

A CONTRAST.

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors,—Did you notice a case in last week's papers of a man who ruined a lady's ermine coat, value £70, by throwing ink over it? He was described as of a ink over it? He was described as of a responsible position, and "head of a City firm," and his only excuse was that he was "in a temper." I was interested to see the result of this childish behaviour; he was "bound over." I could not help contrasting that case with that of many of the Suffragists who broke a window, value, say; £20, and were sentenced to two months' hard labour.—Yours, &c.,

(Miss) C. L. Ward.

Ibrox, 140, Highbury New Park, N.

THE N.U.T.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors, - Will you allow me to draw the attention of members of N.U.T. to two matters? ...

1. The voting papers for the Executive are now issued. Let Suffragist teachers see that no vote is given to an enemy or luke-warm supporter of our great cause, and

2. That their own and all supporters' voting papers are filled up and returned in good time.

3. A correspondent, signing himself "Anti-Suffragist," in last week's Schoolmaster says, "that though his association passed a vote that the resolution of sympathy should be discussed at Hull, every member who is sent from his association to conference as its representative intends indivi-

dually and collectively to renist the matter being raised for discussion."

This is a most debianch all proceeding, though I regret to say it is likely to be adopted elsewhere.

At our own next local association quarterly meeting I have therefore sent up a resolution. That representatives to conference be instructed to vote according to the recorded decision of the association, on matters which have been before them for discussion.

Let all Suffragist members of N.U.T. take steps at once to see that their expressed wishes are not defeated by such contemptible subterfuge.—Yours, &c., \
FLORENCE M. RUSSELL.

WHY NOT?

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—May I, as a Catholic, say how proud I am that the one firm at the shopkeepers' protest which had the courage and the justice apparently to recognise the immense provocation of the Government, and to protest against one-sided justice, was the Catholic firm of publishers and booksellers, Messrs. Burns and Oates, of Orchard Street, Portman Square. And if the great middle class as represented by Mr. Boosey demand severe sentences on the militants, and that their funds should be charged with the cost of damages, why does it not also insist that Sir Edward Carson and Lord Londonderry should receive the same, or a severer sentence (since they incited to war), than the militant leaders and be forced to pay the \$2,700 Mr. Wineton Churchill's valuable(!) speech cost the nation? And why should not Mr. Hobhouse certainly receive the same treatment and he muleted also for the damages? And why should not the trained strike agitators be responsible for all the violences and loss of property at Tony Pandy and the railway strike last summer, and the trades unions funds held responsible?—Yours, &c.,

BLANCHE SMYTH-Proorr. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. responsible?—Yours, &c.,

BLANCHE SMYTH-PIGOTT.

CITIZENS OR WOMEN?

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I am an onlooker and an American who knows little of the laws of England concerning women; the little I do know being more than I can joyfully digest, but would like to ask under what law the women arrested come? Is the law of England made for the citizens, and is a woman a citizen? I find the definition given for citizen—"The native of a city, or inhabitant who enjoys its freedom," and have been somewhat puzzled to reasonably and logically figure how women can be punished under the laws made for citizens, or is there a law that covers women separately?—Yours, &c.,

E. A. Randall. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—I have been a strong supporter of the suffrage for more than forty years, when to only mention it in any circle was to only bring down ridicule and scorn. I have worked in various ways for this cause, and am deeply grieved at the treatment of those neble women who are now markyrs to help it forward.—Yours sincerely, HARRIETT A. OWEN.

Miss Annie Williams, W.S.P.U., organiser for Huddersfield and Halifax, writing from 1, Fitzwilliam Street West, Huddersfield, says: "To prevent misunderstanding, may I, through your columns, state that I am not the Annie Williams who was fined 40s., or one month's imprisonment, for throwing a stone at Messrs. Cook's window?"

It is being asked: Why did the Suffragettes choose the London Opera House for their meeting last week? It is forgotten that the name of the proprietor is one calculated to make a contract the contract to the proprietor is one calculated to make a contract to the contrac culated to make a quite exceptional appeal to them. Translated it means Hammer and Stone.—"Punch."



THE LAST WORD IN SOAP

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NEWS FROM WORKERS.

In spite of the adverse comments, articles, and letters in the columns of the daily Press, the members of the W.S.P.U. have gone ahead with their work just the same as when they had their leaders with them. They know that their leaders, though absent in body, are yet with them in spirit, and the movement grows apace. The following are a few notes taken from the reports of Organisers received on Monday morning:

Miss Shepherd, 508, King's Road, Chelsea, reports that at the midday meeting in Sloane Square several dozens of Vorus roa Women were sold. During the week Miss Ada Moore has been selling the paper in the street with many others. She encloses a letter from a working woman, as follows:

"I am enclosing my subscription and 3s. for Self-Denial Fund. I think the women have been splendidly plucky in this last protest, and feel sorry to be of so little use myself, as I am mostly in the country. People seem to think the cause is quite crushed by this reverse, but how little they understand this glorious movement! The darkest hour before the dawn. Wishing you the victory soon."

Mrs. Strong, 84, Elspeth Road, Clapham, S.W., writes that the street meeting at St. John's Road, Clapham Junction, on Saturday night, was the largest and most enthusiastic ever held there. Every paper was sold, many questions asked, and no hostility shown. The paper-sellers at the Tube station report an excellent reception and splendid sales during the week.

The Hon. Sec. (pro tem) of the Hampstead local Union, 178, Finchley Road, writes that the recent militant protest has produced a most satisfactory and encouraging effect on local work. Many new members have been gained, and a great deal of sympathy and understanding has been manifested by inquirers at the shop. The sale of Vores for Woman has been more than quadrupled during the past week, and the demand even then exceeded the supply. Paper sellers have everywhere met with an entirely sympathetic reception. With regard to the Self-Denial Week, the local Union undertook the street collecting at Oxford Circus, and realised from various sources the sum of £20. The record collection for the same purpose at the meeting at Hampstead Heath goes far to disprove the allegation that the recent protest has alienated sympathy.

Mrs. Lamartine Yates, 9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Wimbledon, says that the local sales of the paper have been unprecedented these last few weeks.

Miss Allan, 79, Woodside, Wimbledon, reports that contributions are coming in well, and the paper sales increase weekly.

Miss Smelt. 22, Goldington Avenue, Bedford, reports that after a meeting of the local Suffrage Societies on March 14, between thirty and forty new members were enrolled by the three societies represented.

Miss Berry, 221, Old Christchurch Road, Bournemouth, writes:—"Since Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's
meeting on February 28, and the militant protest on
March I, there have been many callers at the office,
several new members have joined, and the paper
has sold splendidly, both in the streets and at the
office." She appends a list of contributions:—Mrs.
P. Shaw (for doing palmistry), £1 6s.: Mrs. Dalton,
2s. 6d.; Miss C. Forrest. 1s.; Mrs. E. Dunn, 1s.;
Mrs. G. A. Bretherton Watt, 1s.; Miss Bulaw, 1s.;
Miss Wittshire, 2s.; Miss Bürger, 1s.; Miss Rawlins, 1s.: For Self-Denial, 5s., from "Two
Cowardly Sympathisers."

Miss Macaulay, Trevarra, 30, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone, writes that the paper sales have been most successful in Folkestone and Dover. At Folkestone a new member joined after the recent window-smashing outbreak, and promises of help with drawing-room meetings are coming in. Two residents at Dover undertook street selling for the first time.

Miss Fraser Smith, 61, Nethergate, Dundee, writes that since the protest of March 4, Votes for Women has been selling more than usually well. By Monday morning the week's supply was gone, and a fresh supply ordered. In less than an hour two dozen papers were sold to the shop-keepers of Broughty Ferry, who learnt with amusement that the quiet and gentle Suffragette who usually sold them was in Holloway for breaking a shop-window.

Miss Yeomans, 11, Ye Pantyles, Tunbridge Wells, writes that there has been a marked increase in the sale of Vores son Women since March 1, and public interest has been won as never before.

The Birmingham Secretary, 97, John Bright Street, writes that more than twice the usual number of Vores ron Women were sold last week. She makes an urgent appeal for more paper-sellers.

Miss Mary East, Fairview, Stratford-on-Avon, has gained two new subscribers, and reports that the hard sentences passed on Suffragettes have had their effect in arousing public interest.

Miss Mary Phillips, 3, Cookridge Street, Leeds, reports that Miss Palmer has taken the post of Votes Secretary, and started street-selling last week, with a corps consisting of Miss Doyle, Miss E. Battle, and Miss Malcolm. Mrs. Parker is taking two dozen to sell amongst her friends, and plans have been made for increased activity in selling the paper during the coming weeks. For Self-Denial they organised a stall, and thanks to Mrs. Malcolm's energy, it made £3 6s. 2d.

Edgware Road, Nutlord Place, W....
Forest Gate, G. E. Railway Station Hampstead, 178, Finchley Road

Palmer's Green, Mission Hall, Hazel-wood Lane

Wednesday, 27.

Edgware Road, Nutlord Place, W....

Forest Gate, G. E. Railway Station ...

Palmer's Green, Mission Hall, Hazel-wood Lane

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Palmer's Green, Mission Hall, Hazel-wood Lane

Wednesday, 27.

Edgware Road, Nutlord Place, W....

Palmer's Green, Mission Hall, Hazel-wood Lane

Wednesday, 27.

Elign, 35, Warwick Road

Paddington, 52, Praed Street

Paddington, 52, Praed Street

Miss Key Jones, Colby Chambers, Coppergate, York, says the usual supply of Vores ron Women was sold out on Saturday, and a fresh supply had to be ordered. The paper-sellers report the keenest interest shown by the public in the paper, and say that many stopped to buy and ask questions. Several new members have joined, and keen sympathy has been aroused locally, as was proved by the incident at the anti-suffrage meeting on March 8, when a banner bearing the words, "Voices for Women in 1912" was raised, and those in the hall rese to cheer it enthusiastically.

Nurse Griffin, Hon. Treasurer of the Urmston and Flixton local Union, says that at a meeting on March 4, only four of those present were not members, and at the conclusion of an address on window breaking, the four became members. One is a shopkeeper in the most prominent part of Manchester, who admitted that she quite saw the reason for the action of the militants, and would do what she could by bill distributing, selling tickets, and sandwiching, to help the local work.

The Hon. Sec. of the Irish Women's Franchise League, Ancient Concert Buildings, Great Bruns-wick Street, Dublin, reports that eighteen dozen copies of Votes FOR WOMEN were sold in the streets of Dublin last week, and much interest has been aroused.

Miss Mary Allen, 8, Trinity Street, Hastings, reports that the meetings have been better attended than any held before. The sale of Vorks for Women is increasing, and members have kept up paperselling splendidly. New members have joined during the past week, and the local work is going ahead.

Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 215, High Road, Kilburn, N.W., writes that the sale of the paper locally has greatly noreased in the past two weeks. With regard to he contributions for Self-Denial, one member brought in two denations, which she said were from riends of hers who up to nuw had been against oman suffrage, but they so admired the courage of the last demonstration that they sent these constitutions.

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BRIGHTON, HOVE, AND DISTRICT.
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Sat., Mar. 23.—Seafront. Mr. G. Harding, Chair:
Miss G. Allen. 3 p.m.
Sun., Mar. 24.—Seafront. Mr. G. Harding, 11.30

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT. Organiser Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Tre-varra, 30. Bouverie Road West, Folks-

wed., Mar. 27.—Canterbury, St. Stephen's Lodge.
Drawing Room Meeting. Hostess: Mrs.
Horsley, 3 p.m.

RASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.
Organiser-Miss M. S. Allen. Shop-8,
Trinity Street, Hastings.
Mon., Mar. 25.—Hastings, 8, Trinity Street, "At
Home," 4—6 p.m. Caroline Place, 8 p.m.

OXPORD. OXFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Graham, 27, Norham Road.
Fri., Mar. 22.—Banbury Town Hall, Miss D. Pethick,
N. H. Crook, Esq., 7.30 p.m.
Sat., March 23.—Oxford, Martyr's Memorial, Miss D.
Pethick, Miss Crook, 7 p.m.
Mon., Mar. 25.—Charibury Town Hall, Miss D.
Pethick, Mr. A. Gillitt, 7.30 p.m.
Tues., Mar. 26.—Abingdon Corn Exchange, Miss D.
Pethick, Mrs. Richards, 7.30 p.m.
Wed., March 27.—Oxford Masonic Hall, Miss D.
Pethick, Miss Graham, 8 p.m.

REDHILL. Mon. Sec.—Mrs. Cather, The Red Cottage, Cavendish Road.

Fri., Mar. 22.—Carlton Room. Members' Meeting. 5 p.m.

(Sat., Mar. 23.—Carlton Room. Jumble Sale, 230 b.m.

p.m. Wed., Mar. 27.—Carlton Room. Miss Dyce Sharp. Chair: Miss Rose. 8 p.m.

WEST AND NORTH KENT Organiser Miss Evelyn Billing, 120, Rock Avenue, Gillingham.

Frl., Mar. 22.—Herne Bay, William Street, 8 p.m. Wed., Mar. 27.—Herne Bay, Cycle Hall, Women only, 3.15 p.m. Public Meeting, Miss Evelyn Billing and others, 8 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. Office 97, John Bright Street. Tel., 1443

Organisers Miss Dorothy Evans and Miss Gladys Hazel. Sun., Mar. 24.—Smethwick Labour Church, Smeth-wick Town Hall, Miss E. M. Dale, 7 p.m. Wed., Mar. 27.—Queen's College, Mrs. Drummond, 8 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON.

MORTHAMPTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Miller, 305, Wellingbore'
Road.

Fri., Mar. 22.—32, East Park Parade, Drawing Room
Meeting, Mrs. Pertwee. Hostess: Mrs. T. L.
Collier. 3 p. m.; Granville Hotel, Midland
Road, Wellingborough, Mrs. Pertwee. Chair:
Miss Miller, 8 p.m.

Sat., Mar. 23.—11, Park Avenue, Drawing Room
Meeting, Miss Nancy Lightman. Hostess: Mrs.
F. Crockett, 8.15 p.m.

March. Friday, 22

Saturday, 23

Sunday, 24

99 25 91 11

Croydon, 50, High Street
Harrow Road, Prince of Wales
Clapham, Aliwal Road
Crouch End, Clock Tower
Groydon, Walk from Swan
Hammersmith, The Grove
Harlesden, Manor Park Road
Ilford, Balfour Road
Islington, Copenhagen Street
Kiburn, Birchington Road
Kingston, Occonasion Stone
New Barnet, The Triangle
Palmer's Green, Alderman's Hill.
Plaistow, 89, Balaam Street

Monday, 25 ... Croydon, Small Public Hall

Tuesday, 26 ... Balham, 14, Balham Park Road

The following extracts are from letters sent to our organiser at Huddersfield:—

"So far from net wishing to send that promised 10s., I will make it 21. The visidictive sentences are dreadful. Surely they will never be allowed to carry them out."

carry them out."

"I could no longer keep outside the Union, and have signed the card, not only for the Cause, but because of the admiration and respect I have for Mrs. Pankhurst."

(After a threstened rowdy meeting, where rotten eggs were to play a prominent part): "There were several 'conversions' on Tuesday, and you did great good."

"A young man went to laugh and have a good time. When I saw him this morning, I said: "Were you converted? How did you like it? He answered: 'Splendid! If anybody had made any disturbance, he'd have had me to recken with."

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LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK

Fireside Talks Committee Meeting... Dr. Letitia Fairfield Miss Guttridge

West of England.

Shop 12. Walcot Street. Hon. Organiser Telemiche. Hon. Secs. The Klases Sat. Mar 23. Shop. Jumble Sale, 5.50-9 p.m. Sat., Mar 33.—Shop rally, 5.30-p.m.

Office 37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Hon Sec.

- Mrs. Dove Willcox, Hon Treas, Mrs.

Young.

Mon. Mar. 25 - Victoria Rooms, At Home. Rev.

Geoffrey Ramany, 3.50 p.m.

Eastern Counties,
CHELESFORD.
Organiser Miss Grace Roe. Mon. Sec.
Miss Bartels, Oak Cottage, Park Road.
Fri., Mar. 22.—Market Place, Miss Naylor.
Wed. Mar. 27.—Cranecourt Assembly Rooms (No. 22).
Women only, 3.30 p.m.
Fri., Mar. 28.—Market Blace, 3 p.m.
FELIXSTOWE.
Organiser Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.—

Organiser Miss Grace Roe. Hon. Sec.— Miss Ethel Lowy, Woodcroft, Bath Road. Wed, Mar. 27.—Odd Fellows' Hall, At Home, Miss Douglas Smith. Host and Hostess: Mr. Napier Prentice and Mrs. Pollitt. 3 p.m. Walton (near Felixstowe), Foresters' Hall. Miss Douglas Smith. 7.30 p.m.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop Dial Lane, Ipswich, Organiser Mirs Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich, Shop Sec.—Mirs King. Tues., Mar. 26.—Ipswich, St. Michael's Parish Hall. Members' Meeting. Miss Douglas Smith. 3 p.m. St. Michael's Parish Hall. Miss Douglas Smith. 8 p.m.

NORWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser Miss Margaret West, 6, Essex Street.

Tues., Mar. 25.—Sheringham, South Lodge, Drawing Room Meeting, Miss West. Hostess: Mra. Masters, 5 p.m. West Runton, Schoolroom, Miss Katharine Browne and Miss West, 8 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

NOTH-EASTETH COUNTIES.

BALIFAX AND HUDDERSFIELD.

Organiser-Miss Annie Williams, 1, Pitzwilliam Street West, Huddersfield.

Hon. Sec.-Miss Lettice Floyd.

Fri., Mar. 22.—Sowerby Bridge.

Wed., Mar. 27.—Huddersfield, Parochial Hall,
Jumble Sale, 3.30 p.m.

Thurs., Mar. 22.—Halifax, Social Evening, Whist
Drive, Music, &c., Miss Lilian Williamson,
B.A., 6.30—11 p.m.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Office—3, Cookridge Street.
Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips.

Tues., Mar. 25.—Leeds, 3, Cookridge Street, Afternoon Tes. Hostesses: Mrs. Swailes and Mrs. Dickinson, 3:30-5:30 p.m. Philosophical Hall, Park Row. Mrs. J. E. M. Brailsford, Miss Mary Phillips. Chair: Dr. Eleanor Sprowle, 8 p.m. NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

OMice—77, Blackett Street. Tel. Mo., 4591
Central.
Organiser—Miss Laure Ainsworth.
Wed., Mar. 27.—Newcastle, 77, Blackett Street, Members Meeting and Speakers Class, 7:30 p.m.

7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 11.30 a.m.

3 p.m.

3.30 p.m.

3.15 p.m.

8 p.m. 7.30 to 8.30 p.m.

8 p.m. 3 p.m. to 5 p.m.

8 p.m. 4.15 to 6 p.m.

Annual Meeting of Members

Mr. Phillips
Miss F. Feek
Miss Rogers
Plaistow School of Music, Whist Drive
Hostess; Miss M. Wilcox
John Simpson, Esq.
Dr. Letitia Fairfield
Miss Lennox, Liout, Cather, R.N.
Miss A. Gilliatr. Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates
Rev. Major Scott, Miss Beatrice Harraden.

Miss Jacobs Miss Davis Chair: Miss Prankherd

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Office—Colby Chambers. Tel., 692 Coppergate.
Organiser—Miss V. Key-Jones.
Wed., Mar. 27.—Office, Speakers' Class, G. Key Jones, Esq., 8 p.m. Scotland.

YORK

DUNDEE AND EAST FIFE.
Office—61, Methergate. Organiser—Miss
Fra.er Smith.
Fri., Mar. 22.—Dundee, Foot of Hilltown. 8 p.m.
Wed., Mar. 27.—Dundee, 61, Nethergate. Miss Lucy
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Address, the Advertisement. Manager, Votes for
WOMEN, 4, Clement's lyn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. [Property found at W. S.P.U. meetings should sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.]

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